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THE TOMBS OF THE TIBETAN KINGS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BZ = *sBas bžed.*
CTS = *Ch'iu T'ang shu* (Po na pên edition).
DT = *Deb t'er snon po.*
GR = *rGyal rabs gsal bai me loṅ.*
KT = *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa.*
MVP = *Mahāvyutpatti.*
PT = History of dPa' bo gtug p'reṅ ba.
PTY = *Pad ma t'aṅ yig.*
RCD = Works by Raṅ ạbyuṅ rdo rje.
TH = J. BACOT, F. W. THOMAS, Ch. TOUSSAINT, *Documents de Touen-Houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*, Paris, 1940.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASB = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
S = Sa skya pa Chronicles.
STS = *Sin T'ang shu.*
THOMAS, *Nam.* = F. W. THOMAS, *Nam, an ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan borderland*, London, 1948.
THOMAS, *Literary texts* = F. W. THOMAS, *Tibetan Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part I, *Literary texts*, London, 1935.
TS = *T'ang Shu.*
TP = T'oung Pao.
TPS = G. TUCCI, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma, 1949.
VDL = *rGyal rabs*, written by the fifth Dalai Lama.

THE TOMBS OF THE TIBETAN KINGS

One of the main objects of my recent travel in Tibet which I undertook in 1948 was to identify the place where the tombs of the old kings had been built. My purpose has been fulfilled. In ạP'yoṅ rgyas [1] I found the mounds where the remains of those kings had been buried. Of course we knew from the Tibetan literary tradition that the tombs were to be sought for in the proximity of ạP'yoṅ rgyas, but no description of them has been as yet published: nor did we know anything definite about their location. It was necessary to verify on the spot the validity of the tradition and to see what really remained of the royal tombs. In the guide-book of dBus and gTsaṅ written by a Sa skya lama Kun mk'yen brtse,[2] we read that below the royal palace of ạP'yoṅ rgyas there was a stone image of Sroṅ btsan sgam po and his tomb (*baṅ so*) as well.[3] Since from other sources we knew that also the tombs of his successors were placed near that of the builder of the Tibetan power, the location of the tomb of Sroṅ btsan sgam po implied the location of the tombs of his descendants. First of all, I translate the account concerning these tombs contained in the *gTam ts'igs rgya mts'o* written by Raṅ ạbyuṅ rdo rje [4] because, though this work is modern, it summarizes the current tradition.

« In the old records it is so briefly stated: In the quadrangular tomb they made some partitions (*reu mig*): they mixed

mud with silk and paper: | with that they made the image of the saintly king;[5] | then drawing along a car with music | they placed the image inside the tomb. | They filled up the partitions inside with precious things. | From this the habit of building a quadrangular tomb is derived. | Now let us tell the substance of the same thing in a fuller way. | We read in the dKar c'ag written by the great minister of mGar:[6] | as regards the disposal of the body of the seven K'ri,[7] they were | disposed of in heaven; the divine bodies, leaving no corpse, melted | away like a rainbow. The tombs of the two sTeṅ were placed in a | pitcher with a lucky scarf.[8] | As to the inspector of the work, he was Las skyes.[9] | The tombs of the six Legs were built between slate and meadows, | the tombs of the eight lDe were built in the middle of the rivers | and looked like snow fallen upon a lake. | Under Ziṅ lde the tombs were built in the country[10] itself (where the king lived); | this was the place, where rulers and subjects, fought each other. | As to the name of the country it was Dar po t'aṅ in ạP'yiṅ;[11] | whether there is a tomb or not it looks like a protruding mound.[12] | The tomb of K'ri gñan was built in Don mk'ar mda'; | whether (the tomb) exists or not it looks like a protruding mound. | The tomb of ạBroṅ gñan lde ru was built in Žaṅ mda'; in the tomb | the king and three living subjects were hidden; this is known as | the mound where the living men have been killed.[13] | The (tomb of) sTag ri gñan gzigs was built in Don mk'ar mda'; | as to its place, it was to the right of the tomb of Kri' gñan: | it was said that this tomb was erected according to the system of the rMu. | The tomb of gNam ri sroṅ btsan was built in Don mk'ar mda'. | It is said to be the Srog mk'ar (life-castle) built by ạP'rul skyes. | As to its place,

it was to the left (of the tomb of) K'ri gñan bzuṅ btsan. | As to its name, it is called Guṅ ri sog pa legs. | The tomb of Sroṅ btsan is in ạP'yoṅ p'u mda'.[14] | As to its size, it is like a full range of an arrow shot of a great range. | The size of the field (where it is located) is like (the space covered), by the discharge of a stone catapult; | inside there are five chapels. This (tomb) is famous as the ornament among the tombs. | Its secret name is rMu ri smug;[15] | in the ạDsam bu gliṅ the offering of gems has been collected three times: | the five kinds of divine gems; | the five kinds of the gems of the năgas, | the five kinds of human gems; | the essence of the earth bestows life and it produces the means of happiness of living beings. | At that time the earth was taken from ạP'reṅ gi ri. | The mud was taken from the water of the gÑan. | The door was facing Nepal towards the West. | As to the interior, it was displayed in five kinds: | in the centre, the Dam sri[16] were subdued by rDo rje gtsug; | on the top there was a veranda of pillars of 18 cubits each, | made of sandal wood of the quality called *sa mc'og* (*baricandana*). | In the very middle there were the dress of the king, | inconceivable kinds of gems | and myriads of precious diadems. | Upon that there was an all-pervading umbrella | made of sandal wood called *sprul sñiṅ*. | The most precious thing (literally essence) of the kings of India, | the very king of the armours of Utayana (= Udayana), | each ring of the mail being made of myriads of *sraṅ* of gold, | was the auspicious thing in the West. | It was then wrapped in precious copper and hidden. | The most precious thing of the king of China, | taken from the side of the Meru, the king of mountains, | was the right hand of the queen made of precious coral. | It was eight cubits long and emanated light | like a lamp: it is in the northen side. | Then the most precious

thing of the king himself | is a heap of precious glass (*ac'in bu*), one full cubit; (*ap'in bu* for *ac'in bu*); | this was the auspicious thing in the middle; | it was then wrapped in silk cloth and hidden. | As to the most precious thing of the king of the Hor, | it was the figure of a man and of a horse in gold; | it was wrapped in various kinds of silk cloth of shining saffron (colour). | It was a contrivance similar to an image of a man and a horse. | This was hidden on the eastern side. | Two thirds of the pearls, weighted in loads, | taken from the king of Ya rtse | placed in a skin [17] of a young stag were hidden in the South. | Many other kinds of gems were placed in the precious tomb. ». [18]

Then the description follows of the five chapels built inside the tomb. Only Buddhist deities are mentioned and they are disposed as in a maṇḍala, viz. in the centre: Saṅs rgyas ma c'ags pad pa can; in the eastern corner: sGrol ma; in the southern: Saṅs rgyas sman pa; in the western side: Saṅs gyas dga' ba; in the northern side: rTa bdag.

« His grandson Maṅ sroṅ btsan, | along with the ministers and the subjects as well, carried | as (funeral) offerings innumerable things to that place | and in reverence offered them. | Int his way they entrusted the tomb of that incomparable king | to the gods protecting the country | and, having offered prayers to them, they went back home. | The tomb of Guṅ ri guṅ btsan was built in Don mda'; | as to its place, it was to the left of the tomb of gNam ri sroṅ btsan. | As to its name, it was called Guṅ ri guṅ rje. | The tomb of Maṅ sroṅ was to the left of that of Sroṅ btsan; | even this tomb was filled with precious things; | as to its name, it was called mDo gžer hral po. | The tomb of ạP'rul rgyal was to the left of that of Maṅ sroṅ; | this tomb was called Lha ri can. | The tomb of K'ri lde gtsug

btsan me yi ag ts'om | was built in Mu la ri; | as to its place, it was to the left of the tomb of ạP'rul rgyal; | as to its name, it was called Lha ri gtsug nam. | The tomb of lJaṅ ts'a Lha dbon was built, in a circular form, | in front of that of his grandfather. | Many treasures were hidden in it. | The tomb of K'ri sroṅ was built in Mu la ri. | Its place was to the right side, on the back of the tomb of his father; | this tomb was built by himself when he was not yet dead; | as to its name, it was called ạP'rul ri gtsug snaṅ. | At the bottom there is also a pillar; | it is called Baṅ so p'yi rgyan can (the tomb having the external ornament). | This is on the left corner of the Don mk'ar mda', a provisional residence, along the chain of Mu la mountains. In some records it is written Mu la ri, but, since the chain of the mountains is the same, Don is there included; in Don there is a pillar called: the steady nail. | The pillar nowadays is not visible because, being submerged by | the raising of the ground, it does not come out (of the soil). | The tomb of the divine son Mu ne btsan po was to the right, in front of the tomb of Ag ts'om; | as to its name it is called Lha ri ldem po. | The tomb of the second son Mu rub[19] | was built in Don mk'ar mda'; | as to its name it was called Gyaṅ ri gyaṅ ldem. | The tomb of the younger brother Sad na legs was to its side; | some say that it is in front of that of ạP'rul rgyal. | As to the place of the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, it is in front of that of ạP'rul rgyal. | This also was built before his death. | As to its name it was called Rgyal c'en ạP'rul gžer; | in front of it there is a pillar containing an edict; | the description of the pacification of the kingdom is writter on it; when they placed the body of the king in the tomb, | they put it on a throne, inside a closed copper box.[20] ».

The sources of Raṅ ạbyuṅ rdo rje are the historical works as well as the local tradition. All *C'os ạbyuṅ* give in fact a good account of the way in which the bodies of the kings were disposed of after their death.

HISTORY of dPa' bo gtsug lag: [21]

p. 47 *b*: the tomb of Guṅ sroṅ was built in Don mk'ar mda' and was placed to the left of that of gNam ri sroṅ btsan; it is called Guṅ c'en guṅ ri.

p. 68 *a*: As to Sroṅ btsan sgam po, the usual story is related. The king and his two wives having disappeared in the statue of sPyan ras gzigs, his image was put on a car and then buried inside the tomb in ạP'yoṅ po of Yar luṅs (*sic*).[22]

p. 69 *b*: the tomb of Maṅ sroṅ was built to the left of the former; it was filled with precious things and was called sDo žer hral po.

p. 70: the tomb of ạDus sroṅ was built to the left of that of his father; this tomb was called Lha ri can. The wall surrounding it was built by the Hor community.

p. 75 *a*: The tomb of K'ri lde gtsug brtan was built in Mu ra ri; it is placed to the left of (that of) ạP'rul gyi rgyal po. It is called Lha ri gtsug nam.

p. 123 *a*: the tomb of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was built in Mu ra ri and is placed behind and, to the right, of that of his father; it was filled with many precious things and was called ạP'rul ri gtsug snaṅ. At the bottom there is a pillar with an inscription. This was placed there when the king was living in order to guard it against the intentions of the Bon ministers. The tomb of Mu ne btsan po was built on the right side in front of the tomb of Ag ts'om; it was called sKya ri ldem.[23]

p. 123 *a*: The tomb of Mu tig btsan po was called Skya ldem and was built in Don mk'ar mda'.

p. 127 *a*: The tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (later on called lDeṅ k'ri) was built in front of that of ạP'rul rgyal.

p. 134 *a*: the tomb of Ral pa can was built to the left of Don mk'ar mda' and was called K'ri steṅ rmaṅ ri.

RGYAL RABS:

p. 71 *a*: the tomb of Guṅ sroṅ was built in Don mk'ar mda'; it is located to the left of the tomb of gNam ri sroṅ and it is called Guṅ c'en guṅ ri.

p. 81: for the tomb of Sroṅ btsan sgam po see above.

p. 81 *b*: the tomb of Maṅ sroṅ was placed to the left of that of his father. This also was filled with precious things and was called sDog gže hral po.

p. 82 *a*: The tomb of ạP'rul rgyal was placed to the left of that of Maṅ sroṅ and was called Lha ri can: it [24] was built by the Hor people. It is said that it was called Seṅ ge rtsigs.

p. 84 *b*: The tombs of K'ri gtsug brtan was built in Mu ra ri to the left of that of ạP'rul rgyal. It was called Lha ri gtsug nam.

p. 93 *a*: the tomb of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was built in Mu ra ri and was placed to the left of that of his father; it was built when he was not yet dead. It was called ạP'rul gtsug snaṅ. At its bottom there is a pillar; it was famous as the P'yi rgyan can.

p. 93 *b*: the tomb of Mu ne btsan po was in front of the right side of the tomb of Ag ts'om: it was called Lha ri ldem po.

p. 93 *b*: the tomb of Mu tig was built in Don mk'ar mda' and was called Kya ri kyaṅ ldem.

p. 94 *a*: the tomb of the son of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan was built in Don mk'ar mda'.

p. 94 *a*: the tomb of lDeṅ k'ri was to the left of that of ạP'rul rgyal. This too was filled with many precious things. It was called rGyal c'en baṅ so.

CHRONICLES OF THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA:

p. 28 *e*: the tomb of Guṅ ri btsan was built in Don mk'ar mda'.

p. 30 *b*: the tomb of the Maṅ sroṅ was built to the left of that of Guṅ sroṅ. Ibidem: the tomb of ạDus sroṅ maṅ po rje ruṅ rnam po was built to the left of that of Maṅ sroṅ.

p. 31 *a*: the tomb of K'ri lde gtsug was built in Mu ra ri.

p. 40 *a*: the tomb of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was built in Mu ra ri.

p. 40: the tomb of Mu ne btsan po was in Mu ra ri.

p. 40 *b*: the tomb of Mu tig btsan po sad na legs was in front of that of ạP'rul rgyal.

p. 44 *b*: the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (Ral pa can) was built to the left side of Don mk'ar mda'.

The information contained in the Chronicles discovered in Tun huang is very scanty as regards the tombs of the kings. We are only told that they were buried, f. i., p. 30, year 651, *K'ri sroṅ btsan mdad btaṅ ba*; so also, p. 35, year 678 the body of K'ri ạdus was buried (*btsan po yab gyi mdad btaṅ*, etc., p. 41), but no further details are given.

In this connection we may recollect what has been told concerning the tomb of Sad na legs viz. that it contained the body of the king buried "placed on a throne". In the

same way, the story of the burial of Sroṅ btsan sgam po fully shows that burial only was practised; no cremation.

As regards Sroṅ btsan sgam po it is to be noted that the story of the disappearance of the body of the king and of the queens into the image of sPyan ras gzigs is a later invention of the Buddhists: of course it is unknown to TH from which we are informed that the king and at least the Chinese princess, his wife, died at different times, the latter some years after him. The *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa, k'a*, p. 42, combines the orthodox tradition and the historical facts. The king and the queens were seen by the naṅ blon to disappear into the god but the royal family took the body in sMug ri in Yarlung: sMug ri is the name of the tomb of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, but it means the funeral hill, sMug having, as we saw, the meaning of mourning. I cannot separate this word from rMu, Mu a class of Bon po priests chiefly concerned with funeral ceremonies. These built the tomb and anointed the corpse with gold and put it in a silver box which was placed upon a throne in the central partition. In fact the surface in the interior of the tomb was divided into nine square partitions in the same arrangment as the *me ba dgu*, the nine *me ba* employed by the Tibetan On po and astrologers even to day for preparing the horoscope. These partitions represented the universe, displayed round the central point, nine being the sacred number of the Bon po and the king being then buried in the middle of the tomb, ideally transferred into and identified with the pole of the universe of which the tomb itself was supposed to be a magical projection. Precious things were put into the other partitions not only as the property of the king meant to accompany him in the after life, but as the seed as it were from which new wealth and, prosperity might derive to the country. Among the

naṅ blon, the ministers of the interior, a naṅ blon was chosen as the custodian of the tomb: this man had to impersonate the dead and, as such, he was to dwell near the tomb separated from the living world, and therefore with no intercourse whatever with his family. He was allowed to appropriate whatever came close to the tomb, man or animal, the man becoming, when touched by him, his servant viz. the servant of the dead king impersonated by that naṅ blon guarding the tomb. On the anniversary of the death there was a ceremony in the course of which offerings were heaped up and the royal family, entering the temple, built for the occasion, blew a trumpet announcing that on the following day the ceremony would be performed; this announcement was made in order that the dead could shift for the moment to a separate valley; when the ceremony was over the offerings of cloth, horses, animals and goods of various kinds were heaped up near the temple and the worshippers retreated without looking back. At that moment the dead, viz. those impersonating the dead, came forward and took possession of the offerings. The fact that these tombs are natural hillocks, and some of them of huge proportions, and that it certainly took a certain time before the funeral chamber was ready, explains why a certain period, sometimes more that one year, passed between the death and the burial. Pending this burial, the body was kept in some provisory shelter and sometimes in a temple.[25] This fact may lead to the conclusion that the bodies were rudimentally embalmed, so that they might be preserved without being subject to a rapid corruption.

This story of the royal tombs is strictly connected with the list of the Tibetan kings, each king being given his own tomb: there was a place in the country where for centuries the bodies

of the princes were buried so that they might, so to say, live together in the other world, waiting for the successors to whom the rotation of time would have given in turn birth and death. That place was, as it were, a sacred city from which the kings of Tibet were supposed eternally to protect the country. As we are told by the *bKa' t'aṅ lde lṅa, K'a,* 42 *a, b* the dead were believed to bestow upon the survivors and all the people prosperity and abundance of food and drink, and to ensure good crops. Only princes who died at a very early age, had not the honour of a tomb: *baṅ so med pa,* PT, p. 126, GR, p. 41 *b.* This means that the royal family considered the country round ạP'yoṅ rgyas to be the cradle of their ancestors and in fact, as we know from TH, p. 127, Ša k'yi built in ạP'yoṅ rgyas the first royal palace. The following (see pp. 16, 17) is the list of the royal tombs beginning from that of Sroṅ btsan sgam po.

It is clear that this list agrees with that of the kings with which I dealt in a previous article.[26] As I said in the article mentioned above, there is a full agreement among the various lists up to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. The disagreement begins as regards the sons of this last king viz. for the period between him and Ral pa can. Generally our sources: TH, Grags pa rgyal mts'an, ạP'ags pa, Buston, GR know of only two kings: Mu ne btsan po and K'ri lde sroṅ btsan; the fifth Dalai Lama speaks equally of two kings Mu ne btsan po and Mu tig btsan po who, in his opinion, is the same as Sad na legs; he then places between the two Mu rug btsan po.[27] He objects to the identification of Mu tig btsan po sad na legs with K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, whom, on the authority of the second chapter of MVP, he identifies with Ral pa can; the history by PT, which was unknown to me when I wrote that article, attributes to K'ri sroṅ lde btsan four sons (p. 126).

King	RCD		PT		VDL		GR		Notes
	Place	Name	Place	Name	Place	Name	Place	Name	
Guṅ sroṅ guṅ btsan	Don mda'	Guṅ ri guṅ [rje	Don mk'ar mda'	Guṅ c'en guṅ ri	Don mk'ar mda'	—	as RCD	Guṅ c'en guṅ ri	—
Maṅ sroṅ	to the left of that of his grandfather	mDo gžer hral po	as RCD	sDo žer hral po	to the left of that of Guṅ sroṅ	—	as RCD	sDog gže hral po	—
P'rul rgyal Dus sroṅ	to the left of that of Maṅ sroṅ	Lha ri can	as RCD	as RCD	as RCD	—	as RCD	as RCD	—
K'ri lde gtsug brtan Ag ts'om	Mu la ri	Lha ri gtsug nam	Mu ra ri	as RCD	Mu ra ri	—	Mu ra ri	Lha ri gtsug snam	pillar
lJaṅ ts'a Lha dbon	in front of his grandfather	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
K'ri sroṅ lde btsan	Mu la ri	aP'rul ri gtsug snaṅ	Mu ra ri	aP'rul gi gtsug snaṅ	Mu ra ri	—	as RCD, left of his father	as RCD	pillar

King	RCD		PT		VDL		GR		Notes
	Place	Name	Place	Name	Place	Name	Place	Name	
Mu ne btsan po	in front of that of Ag ts'om	Lha ri ldem po	as RCD	sKya ri ldem	Mu ra ri	Lha ri ldem pa	to the right of that of Ag ts'om	as RCD	—
Mu rug (rub)	Don mk'ar mda'	Gyaṅ ri Gyaṅ ldem	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mu tig	—	—	Mu ra ri	sKya ldem	in front of that of aP'rul rgyal	—	Don mk'ar mda'	Kya ri kyaṅ ldem	—
Sad na legs, K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (for RCD two different persons)	in front of that of aP'rul rgyal	—	as RCD	—	—	—	Don mk'ar mda'	—	pillar
[lDeṅ k'ri]	—	—	—	—	—	—	to the left that of aPrul rgyal	rGyal c'en baṅ so	—
Ral pa can (for RCD = K'ri lde sroṅ btsan	in front of that of aP'rul rgyal	rGyal c'en ap'rul gžer	Don mk'ar mda'	K'ri stoṅ rmaṅ ri	Don mk'ar mda'; to the left	—	—	—	—

I – Mu k'ri btsan po: he died young, no tomb.

II – Mu ne btsan po: born in the year water-tiger (cor. wood-tiger) 774 when the father was 34 years old.

III – Mu tig: born in the following year water-hare (cor. wood-hare) 775.

IV – K'ri lde sroṅ btsan: born in the following year, wood-dragon (cor. fire), 776.[28]

First of all we must say that the fifth Dalai Lama, who often criticizes his predecessor PT, is evidently wrong when he assumes that K'ri lde sroṅ btsan is no one else but Ral pa can. This is contradicted by a document which is contemporary with that very king; I allude to the pillar of sKar c'uṅ, now Ramagan to the South-West of Lhasa,[29] on the southern shore of sKyid c'u river; in this inscription we read:

« At the time of ạP'rul gyi lha btsan, the grandfather, K'ri sroṅ brtsan, there was the practice of the Buddhist law. He built the temple of Ra sa etc. and placed (there) the receptacles[30] of the three jewels; at the time of the grandfather K'ri ạdus sroṅ, this built the temple of gLiṅ gi K'ri rtse[31] etc. and placed there the receptacles of the three jewels. At the time of the grandfather K'ri lde gtsug brtsan, this built the temples of Kva tsu in Brag dmar and of mC'iṅ p'u and placed there the receptacles of the three jewels. At the time of (my) father K'ri sroṅ lde brtsan, this built the temples of bSam yas in Brag mar etc. in the middle of the country and on the boundaries and placed there the receptacles of the three jewels. At the time of (myself) Lha btsan po K'ri lde sroṅ brtsan, I built the temple of sKar cuṅ and placed there the receptacles of the three Jewels.».

But the identification of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan with Ral pa can has no support: the official name of this last king being

K'ri gtsug lde which is also found in a contemporary document of Tun-huang (IHQ, XVI, 1940, pp. 292-298).[32] It is true that in the MVP, before the story of the redaction of this book,[33] we read: *rtai lo la btsan po k'ri lde sroṅ btsan p'o brań skyi 'on can rdo na bžugs* ("in the year of the horse the king K'ri lde sroṅ btsan resided in the palace 'On caṅ rdo in sKyi") and that the MVP is connected, by the usual Tibetan tradition, with Ral pa can: but we must consider the foundation upon which this tradition in based. On one side, it is true, the colophon of the first chapter of MVP clearly places the redaction of the text at the time when K'ri lde sroṅ btsan was in 'On caṅ rdo, but on the other hand no text to our knowledge attributes this name to Ral pa can, always known as K'ri gtsug lde btsan. Buston without quoting MVP substitutes the name of Ral pa can for that of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan and instead of 'On caṅ rdo he reads 'U šaṅ rdo. But Pad ma dkar po follows the colophon of MVP almost literally; GR refers to the colophon of MVP and to the building of 'U šaṅ rdo; so also does PT. The fifth Dalai Lama strictly follows MVP and changes sKyii 'On caṅ rdo in Gi 'U šaṅ rdo. Examining these different accounts we cannot fail to perceive that MVP speaks of a palace of 'On caṅ rdo where the king K'ri lde sroṅ btsan was residing at the time of its redaction; the other sources relate, on the contrary, the story of the building of a new temple in 'U šaṅ rdo which is described in a detailed manner by GR. The ruins of this temple still exist near the village of 'U šaṅ not very far from the bank of the river sKyi c'u, almost opposite to Nethang, the place where Atīśa died. The temple has been completely rebuilt in modern times; there are two *rdo riṅ*, but without inscription. But this temple of 'On caṅ do is

referred to in an inscription of the time of Ralpacan, I mean in the *rdo rin* of mTs'ur bu.[34]

When in Lhasa, I was able to get, through the kindness of His Excellency Tsarong, a rubbing of that inscription; I then sent a reliable monk to make a copy of it. In the original redaction of this pamphlet I did not include its text, since I was aware that Mr. H. E. Richardson, who is in charge of the Indian Mission, and takes a great interest in the investigation of Tibetan culture and is a very proficient Tibetan scholar, had in mind to publish it. After the first proofs of this pamphlet hed been revised, I received from Mr. Richardson a copy of his article, in which the inscription is published along with an introduction.[35] Since I differ from his interpretation just as regards the passage concerning this temple of 'On cañ do, I translate it again; for commodity's sake, I add also the text, in order that a comparison with PT may be facilitated and the points of agreement and disagreement with that may be noted.

« The story how the Žañ stag bzañ Ña sto,[36] of the Ts'es poñ clan, founded the chapel of lCañ bu in sTod is (here) written, since the king gave the order to write it on a pillar.

At the time of the kings, the divine sons,[37] father and grandfather, the noble Law was received and during the (following) generation the Law was established so that the noble Law should never be abandoned but practised. In accordance with this and with the orders issued (by the king), Ña sto of the Ts'e poñ clan took to heart the noble Law. The king, the divine son, K'ri gtsug lde btsan, the (divine) emanation,[38] bestowed his great favour upon the Žañ Ña sto: in order to repay this favour, this performed the *pariṇāmaṇā*[39] as if the gift were made by the king, and having made great vows, founded the chapel of lCañ bu in sTod luñ, placing there the

receptacles of the three jewels. Having made preparations for four *dge sloṅ* to stay there, he assigned for its supplies servants, fields and pasture-grounds, sacred utensils, treasures, cattle etc. and he did (things) in such a way that the gift of K'ri gtsug lde btsan would never be interrupted. The name of this chapel was given by the order of the king and it was ordered that it should be attached as a dependence [40] to that of the Chapel of 'On caṅ do [41] built (by the king) to fulfill his own will in 'On caṅ do and that (this chapel) should even in future consider (that temple of 'On caṅ do) as its chief. (The king) ordered that (the faculty of) the non imposition etc. of taxes, duties or punishments on the subjects or the property of the divine estate [42] should be in the power of the divine estate. As regards the offering of the property of this chapel and what he had done, the king ordered that as it had been done by Žaṅ Ña sto so he should exert himself, as he had (already) done and as he had offered. (The king) also ordered that if some day the descendants of the Žaṅ Ña sto were to come to an end, the servant and the property etc. and whatever was in their power should never be taken back, nor given away, but it should be added to this chapel. (The king) also ordered that the list defining the properties assigned to the chapel and the original chart (containing) the document of this *pariṇāmaṇā* should be placed in the Hall of the Sect of the Blessed one and the second copy should be given to the *sthavira* of the chapel of 'On caṅ do and to the mÑan,[43] and one copy similar to that should be placed in this chapel. According to the order, the descendants of the Žaṅ gSas sto of the Ts'e poṅ clan placed the original copy containing the ordinance in the (castle) of aP'yiṅ pa [44] along with the other great ordinances; another like that, along with other ordinances was placed in front of

the council Hall. As to the box of gilt silver [45] (containing) this second copy, it was placed in the treasury of this chapel ».

So it appears that 'On cañ do (rdo) was a name of a locality where there was a castle and then, after Ralpacan, a temple which was recognised as having played a leading part in the propagation of the faith. The fact that Ral pa can built this famous temple near Lhasa seems therefore to have been the cause for substituting, as Buston did, the name of the temple, in his time known as 'U šañ rdo, for that of 'On c'añ rdo the palace, which existed before Ral pa can: this king in fact, as we are told by Grags pa rgyal mts'an, was born in 'On can de'u (*Validity* etc., p. 314). This implies that MVP was composed at the time of K'ri lde sroñ btsan, the father of Ral pa can, and that on account of the substitution of 'Ọn cañ rdo ('U šañ rdo), the temple, for 'On cañ rdo the palace, that fact was attributed to the times of the son. The fact that the introduction to MVP mentions two Blon c'en: K'ri zur ram šags and Lha lod who sign as Blon c'en the edict of Karchung issued by K'ri lde sroñ btsan fully confirms my opinion. But the difference is anyhow of little moment since, even though the work was started under K'ri lde sroñ btsan, it may have been continued during the reign of his son, for it certainly needed a long preparation. The year of the horse can be either 802 or 814. I think that the first date is too near to the accession of K'ri lde sroñ btsan to be accepted; evidently the king was then busy with more important things, since, at that time, the Tibetan state was in a dangerous situation: when the difficulties were over, however, he might have thought of giving his patronage to a pious and meritorious work. Therefore I am of the opinion that the year of the horse is exactly 814, just four years before the death of the king; this makes therefore most probable that his design

was brought to complete realization by the board of pandits assembled by him, exactly under his son who was given, later on, by the Tibetan historians the full merit of the work.

The inscription on the bell of bSam yas which I publish here gives full support to my statement: in fact we find there a reference to a chapter of the MVP XX where the 60 qualities of the voice of the Buddha are registered.

So there is no doubt that K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, being the son of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan has nothing to do with Ral pa can, viz. K'ri gtsug lde,[46] but he should be identified with the Sad na legs of the Tibetan tradition. We have seen, on the other hand, in the article mentioned above, that the dates contained in the Sa skya Chronicles (and PT) correspond exactly with the dates available in TH; so, if we follow Grags pa rgyal mts'an, we have to fill up the years from 797, death of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, to 817 when, following the passing away of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, Ral pa can assumed the power. How is this lapse of years filled up by the Tibetan tradition? The leading theories are the following:

SA SKYA PA CHR. – Mu ne btsan po (one year nine months) and K'ri lde sroṅ btsan.

PT – Mu ne btsan po and K'ri lde sroṅ btsan sad na legs.

SA SKYA DPAL LDAN BLA MA C'OS ABYUṄ,[47] quoted by PT, p. 131: Sad na legs when 19 years old had a son named lDeṅ K'ri. We shall come back to this king.

RGYA DPE – Chinese sources quoted by PT p. 131 *a*: K'ri sroṅ lde btsan died at 51 in the year iron-monkey 780. He is succeeded by Mu ne btsan po who reigns for 18 years and dies in the year fire-ox 797. His successor is Dsu c'e btsan po who reigns for 8 years and dies in the year wood-monkey 804. Then Sad na legs is elected king. We shall come back

again to this Chinese source. Meanwhile two dates are absolutely certain since there is a complete agreement between the Tibetan and the Chinese historians. I mean the date of the passing away of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan 797 and the year in which his grandson K'ri lde sroṅ btsan died and Ral pa can was elected, 817. Between these two dates 797 and 817, TH, the Sa skya pa authors and PT place two kings only: Mu ne btsan po who ruled one year and seven or nine months and K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. The fifth Dalai Lama agrees fundamentally with this, though after Mu ne he places Mu tig sad na legs, who, as we saw, in his opinion, is not K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, this name being attributed by him to Ral pa can. The Chinese sources are contradictory.

They are represented by the T'ang shu in its double redaction Ch'iu t'ang shu and Sin t'ang shu: here is a translation of the few passages concerning the succession of the kings during the period in which we are interested: [48)]

I – CTS, ch. 146, part II, p. 12 *b* (for the year 796-12th no mention); the third month of the 20th year Cheng yüan, 804: within the first ten days the tsan p'u died. The tsan p'u had died in the Cheng yüan 13th year fourth month, 797; his elder son succeeded him for one year and died. His next son succeeded.

II – STS, ch. 141, part II, p. 4 *b*, in this year 796 (12th year Cheng yüan) Shang chieh tsan died: in the following year the tsan p'u died; his son Tsu chih chien succeeded him; p. 5 *a*: in the 20th year (804) the tsan p'u died; his eldest son succeeded him.

CTS, Ibid., p. 13 *a*, in the 12th year Yüan ho (817) fourth month the T'u fan announced that the tsan p'u had died.

STS, p. 5 *b*, in the 12th year Yüan ho the tsan p'u died. Ko li k'o tsu succeeded him as tsan p'u.

These statements fully support what we already said viz. that there is a perfect agreement between the Chinese and the Tibetan historians as regards the date of the passing away of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and the coronation of Ral pa can following the death of his immediate predecessor. But who this predecessor was is not stated by the Chinese sources; this is the only period of the Tibetan history recorded by the Chinese in which the names of the Tibetan btsan po are not given, with the exception of Tsu chih chien. It is evident that there is a certain confusion in the Chinese sources; in the STS the death of btsan po, evidently = K'ri sroṅ lde btsan is reported in the year 797 but it is immediately added: in the following year the tsan p'u died. This can be explained only by supposing that this tsan p'u is his successor and elder son: in this case Tsu chih chien cannot but be his second son viz., Sad na legs of the Tibetan tradition. Even the CTS knows of two sons the first of whom reigned one year; it shows a correspondence with STS and therefore it agrees with the Tibetan sources concerning the two successors and sons of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. As regards the tsan p'u who died according to these records in the year 804, no name is given and no mention is made of his relation either with his predecessor or with his successor; who therefore is the king who died in the year 817 remains a mystery. Is he a new king? In this case who was this unnamed person? The fact is important that all information concerning the events of 797 and immediately afterwards are given under the year 804 in the CTS; but, under that year 797, there is no mention of the death of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan: this news on the contrary, is registered under the year 804 when the death of a tsan p'u gives an occasion for speaking of the events of 797. But all this uncertainty which has against it the Tibetan

chronicles, some of which like TH and the Sa skya pa are very old, can perhaps be explained away; as a matter of fact between the years 797 and 804 the relations between China and Tibet were extremely bad: the two countries were practically in a state of continuous warfare; this came to an end just towards 804, when ambassadors were again sent and the Chinese received the official information of the death of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and of his elder son as well and of the accession of his younger son. Nor is it to be excluded that the Tibetans themselves kept the death of their btsan po a secret considering the very difficult situation into which the country had fallen on account of the war. All these facts seem to explain the contradictory information regarding this very period found in the Chinese chronicles. But there is a tradition according to which Mu ne btsan po was elected king when K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was still alive; in other words, the same events should then have happened which took place at the time of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, who handed over the kingdom to his son, only to resume the power when the latter died. This tradition is preserved in BZ, where it is narrated that K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, after the instructions received by Padmasambhava and the disturbances created by Mu tig btsan po, went to retirement (*sgom pa*) in Zuṅ dkar [49] (mistake for *mk'ar*) and handed over the kingdom to Mu ne btsan po, who was then 15 years old. We shall not discuss the reasons of this abdication; though the pious chroniclers have interpreted it as a document of the deep faith of the king, it is more probable that we are again confronted with a new case of rivalry between the family of the king and the clan of his wives. Mu tig btsan po killed the minister sNa nam Bu riṅ (or 'U riṅ) at the instigation of his mother, Me tog sgron of the clan Ts'e spoṅ, afraid that the

power might pass into the hands of that minister and just after a little more than one year and a half Mu ne btsan po was killed by Ts'e spoṅ bza' because he had married P'o yon bza', the widow of his father. In these events we probably find a new example of the struggle between the leading Tibetan clans, which intermarriage could not placate and which was one of the chief causes of the collapse of the Tibetan dynasty unsuccessful as it was in developping concord among the opposing families. But whatever was the real reason which led K'ri sroṅ lde btsan to abdicate, it is a fact that our source, which in spite of its later reelaboration goes back to early documents, clearly states that when Mu ne btsan po took hold of the kingdom, his father was still alive.

To conclude, according to the BZ, Mu ne btsan po became king when K'ri sroṅ lde btsan had not yet passed away; though he himself did not survive more than about one year and a half.

This statement of our source has every chance of corresponding with the truth, but it is equally clear that even in this way we do not reach any agreement between TS and the Tibetan tradition, because no btsan po, according to the Tibetan sources, seems to have died in the year 804. The dates of DT are out of question since they are evidently derived not from Tibetan sources, but from a Tibetan translation of Chinese historical accounts based upon the TS. The Dsu tse btsan po is nobody else but the Chinese Tsu chih chien referred to above. DT, not realizing this fact, added, as already pointed out by Dr. Petech,[50] one more king to the list. Which is the source responsible for the introduction of Dsu tse in the DT, *ka*, p. 23 *b*, l. 1? The mention of this name is contained, according to gŽon nu dpal, in the *rGya yig ts'an* compiled from Chinese

sources and later adapted by Riṅ c'en grags. As we gather from GR, Rin c'en grags founded his elaboration upon that translation, his purpose being to eliminate the disagreement between the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition. But this redaction by Rin c'en grags was again revised by Kun dga' rdo rje, the author of the *Deb dmar*, and a contemporary of P'ag mo gru pa Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an; DT depends on this last redaction; in fact an extract from the *rGya bod* (not *rGya* only) *yig ts'aṅ* is contained in GR and here there is no mention of Dsu tse, the two kings whom it registers between K'ri sroṅ lde and Ral pa can being Mu ne btsan po and Sad na legs. GR, p. 95, l. 4:[51] « in the Chinese history called Žu t'u han c'an[52] it is written: one thousand five hundred and sixty six years after the death of the Buddha there was a Chinese emperor T'aṅ who was a contemporany of the king gNam ri sroṅ btsan. The son of that (emperor) was king T'ai guṅ[53] a contemporary of the Tibetan king Sroṅ btsan sgam po. The Tibetan king sent some ambassadors to ask for the daughter of the Chinese emperor, but those came back without the emperor having given his daughter. They told the king a lie: the emperor (they said) was very pleased with us and was on the point of giving us his daughter, but the Hor ser T'u lu hun[54] told a calumny to the emperor and took her away. Then the Tibetan king was enraged and leading an army of one hundred thousand men went to a place called Zuṅ cu;[55] then, having entrusted his troops to a minister called gYa' t'uṅ,[56] he sent him to plunder the country of the T'u lu hun and the T'u lu hun fled to the pure blue lake.[57] But all men and riches left behind were taken away by the Tibetans. Then the king of Tibet entrusted to his minister Se le stoṅ btsan[58] many kinds of jewels and sent him to take

the daughter of the Chinese emperor and he brought to Tibet the princess 'On šiṅ koṅ jo,[59] the image of Jo bo Śa kya and many presents as dowry. In the year iron-dog [60] the king Sroṅ btsan sgam po died and there were many ambassadors to bring from China many precious things as an offering to his tomb (gloss: in the Chinese annals it is said that, the Chinese warriors came into Tibet and that Potala was burnt down; they tried to get the Jo bo but did not obtain it). His grandson assumed the power when he was thirteen years old and since he was very young he could not rule effectively, so the authority over all the country was in the hands of the minister mGar. At that time the Chinese troops invaded and plundered Tibet and the Tibetans also having as their leader the minister mGar sent two hundred thousand Tibetan soldiers. The Chinese were defeated and all places were conquered and also the minister mGar [61] died at the head of his troops. The (grand) son of the king Sroṅ btsan sgam po was ạDur sroṅ ạp'rul gyi rgyal po. At this time, in order to do homage to the tomb of his father, Chinese ambassadors were sent to carry from there (China) many precious things. After that, the son of mGar, sÑan btsan ldem bu [62] together with two ministers T'u lu hun who had rebelled, led an army of three hundred thousand men and went on plundering forts and settlements along the rMa c'u.[63] Then they met the army of the Chinese generals Li kyen and Hen c'en [64] and fought with them. The Chinese were defeated. Without delay Lin kyiṅ [65] collecting three thousand Chinese soldiers came into Tibet to fight and the Tibetan army fled back. The strength, the authority and the power of this king of Tibet ạDur sroṅ maṅ po rje were greater than that of any other ruler.

« His son was K'ri lde gtsug brtan mes ag ts'om, who was a contemporary with the Chinese emperor Dsuṅ dsuṅ [66] and at that time the daughter of the Chinese emperor Gyam šiṅ koṅ Jo [67] went to Tibet; as dowry of the daughter many bundles of silk, many artisans and various kinds of implements were given to be handed over to the king. Many soldiers under the leadership of Ža ya t'ai Byaṅ kun and gYaṅ gui han [68] were sent to escort her. This is the common tradition. For thirty years the Northern countries and the country of Gha [69] were under the power of the Tibetans. During the time of his son K'ri sroṅ lde btsan since the uncle and nephew [70] disagreed there were many occasions (*rgyag res*) for war. The Žaṅ rgya ts'a lha gnaṅ [71] the general Lha bzaṅ klu dpal, at the head of 200.000 soldiers, conquered Šiṅ k'uṅ, the castle of Ceu and the country of sMan rtse.[72] The uncle and the nephew exchanged presents of peace. Although the Tibetan king had promised not to quarrel and had consented to act according to the agreement, was very malicious in his mind. So it is said. In the same way, at the time of his sons Mu ne btsan po and Sad na legs, there were many occasions when, being at peace, China and Tibet exchanged presents and, being at war, sent armies. So also at the time of mṄa' bdag Ral pa can since, there was disagreement between the uncle and the nephew, the latter led many hundreds of thousands of soldiers and took castles from China. But the Chinese Ha šaṅ and the Tibetan chaplain acted as intermediaries and witnesses: the nephew was glad and sent many presents. After that, they promised not to fight. And the btsan po, the nephew, and the uncle on the boundary of China, at a place called rMe ru, built a temple: on a rock they designed the image of the sun and of the moon; the sun and the moon one pair, in the sky; and on earth the nephew, the btsan po and

the uncle promised that the Tibetan soldiers would never go beyond rMe ru in China and the Chinese soldiers no further (towards Tibet) than that place and alternatively they would protect the boundaries; the earth will remain earth, the stones will remain stones, the Tibetans will be happy in Tibet, the Chinese will be happy in China. So it was established as a rule. Then they called as witnesses the three jewels, the sun and the moon and the planets and the stars and all the gods and the uncle and the nephew made an oath. The text of this treaty was written on three pillars. On the two larger sides of the pillars was written the text of the oath made on the occasion of the treaty by the nephew, the btsan po, and the uncle, and on the smaller sides were written the clan and the names of the Tibetan and Chinese ministers and state astrologers. One of the pillars was placed in Lhasa, a second one was placed in front of the Chinese emperor, a third one in rMe ru on the boundary between China and Tibet. If without taking into consideration the text of the treaty, Tibetan troops were to cross into China, the Chinese should drive off the Tibetans, after having read three times the text of the pillar placed in front of the royal palace in China. If the Chinese were to cross into Tibet, after having read three times the text of the pillar of Lhasa, the Chinese should be driven off. So swearing the two princes put their seals on the treaty and all Tibetan and Chinese state officials and astrologers performed the conjuration. This is the (story) in short; but if one wants to know the text of the treaty between China and Tibet, one should see the inscription of the *rdo riṅ* in Lhasa. Then a Mongol general came to Tibet and the minister K'yuṅ žags [73] was killed and therefore the relations between China and Tibet were broken. This history of Tibet and China was composed later from

the work of Su k'yi han, secretary of T'ai dsuṅ;[74] then the Chinese Lotsāva 'U gyaṅ dsu translated it into Tibetan in Šiṅ k'un sde c'en. Then, since the chronology did not agree and the names of the persons did not correspond, the master Gu šri Rin c'en grags[75] while he resided in China expounded properly the accounts of these relations between China and India and in the year wood-bird he had it printed in Šiṅ k'un sde c'en, so that it spread universally. This is the summary. Those who want to know in detail the account of the relation between China and Tibet and between the uncle and the nephew, must look at this work.».

There is hardly any doubt that this summary of the Tibeto-Chinese relations strictly follows TS, very often the correspondence being quite literal; but the translator does not seem to have always understood the original; in some cases he misspelt the names of the Chinese original; f. i. both the Derge edition and my mss. (two different copies, see TPS, p. 140 ff.) instead of T'u yü hun, write T'u lu hun (see LAUFER, TP, 1908, pp. 450-451). Moreover the Yang t'ung, the name of a people (last references in THOMAS, *Nam*, pp. 14, 15) are taken as the name of a minister, *blon*. The translator was also unable to discover the name of the famous mGar minister mGar stoṅ btsan and so the Chinese transcription (Chü shih) Lu tung tsan became Se le stoṅ btsan. But occasionally the translator inserted new data from the Tibetan sources; so, f. i., I do not find any mention in the Chinese sources of the mGar minister sÑan btsan ldem bu = btsan sÑa ldom bu, nor of the death of the minister of mGar at the head of his victorious troops; but even in this case his information is contradicted by TH, according to which the general who died was the *dar gyal*. The conclusion therefore is that the *rGya bod yig*

ts'aṅ was translated, often incorrectly, by Rin c'en grags, who not only tried to eliminate the chronological differences between the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition, but even added some new data to complement the Chinese original. His book was then revised by Kun dga' rdo rje, but it circulated in two different redactions, the one faithful to the Chinese text and giving Dsu tse as an Emperor, the other rightly replacing this name with Sad na legs. Probably one redaction was called *rGya yig ts'aṅ* and the other *rGya bod yig ts'aṅ.*

I do not know which is the Chinese source quoted above by PT, since, regarding the dates and the successors of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, it has no relation with TS nor with DT. It seems therefore that between the years 797 and 817 only two kings ruled, both being the sons of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan just as stated by TH, p. 18; the Karchung iscription also does not mention Mu ne btsan po, but this silence may be due to the fact that he was very unpopular on account of the reforms which he attempted in order to counteract the influence of the aristocracy.[76] But the very pious character of the edicts of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan and his professed zeal for Buddhism may also suggest that this silence was a hint to the scarce enthusiasm of his brother towards the new faith. In the *rGyal po bka' t'aṅ* he is quoted only once when the dedication of bSam yas is told p. 36*b*. But at p. 21 *c* in the succession of the kings after K'ri sroṅ lde btsan only mJiṅ yon viz. Sad na legs is recorded and no mention is made of Mu ne btsan po. The multiplication of the kings was caused in some Tibetan sources dependent on Chinese texts by the duplication of the date of the passing away of Mu ne btsan po as explained above. Moreover another reason might have contributed to this fact: namely the plurality of names assumed by K'ri lde sroṅ btsan.

His usual name was K'ri lde sroṅ btsan: he so calls himself in the sKar cuṅ inscription, but he is also known as Sad na legs ạjiṅ yon and lDeṅ k'ri; this might be due to the fact that following the Chinese example of employing a *nien hao*, even the Tibetan chief assumed in different years of his life a different name. Anyhow, what has been said rules out the possibility of lDeṅ k'ri being a separate king as suggested by GR. lDeṅ k'ri is clearly identified by PT with K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (p. 127 first line). Moreover the place where this name is met in GR looks like an interpolation. The text says " when he (K'ri lde) was 19 years old, he married btsun mo Lha rtse; a son was born who died when he was three years old. His tomb was made in Don mk'a' mda'. The son lDeṅ k'ri, when fourteen, took hold of the power; from the first queen he had three sons, from the second queen two sons: Lha rje and Lhun grub, five in all ". We in fact know that K'ri lde sroṅ btsan had five sons, gTsaṅ ma, Laṅ dar ma, Ral pa can, Lha rje and Lhun grub. So there is hardly any doubt that lDeṅ k'ri is here an interpolation. Even the name of his tomb proves him to be a duplication of K'ri lde: this tomb is in fact called by GR rGyal c'en which is the name of the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, according to the sources we have already studied.

Let us now came back to the tombs of the Tibetan kings. On the authority of the literary sources studied above, in my journey I proceeded from Yarlung to ạP'yoṅ rgyas. ạP'yoṅ rgyas is not in the maps of the Survey of India (edition 1925, scale 1 inch to 4 miles). Chonghe which is marked on this map to the South-West of Riwacholing has no relation whatever with ạP'yoṅ rgyas which is about 18 miles to the South-west along the river called ạP'yoṅ rgyas c'u. But this place is to be found

on the map 1,014 inches to 16 miles (revised edit. 1927, Sheet n. 77): Chongche Dzong. In ạP'yoṅ rgyas itself on the slopes of the rocky hill to the left of the river one finds the fort where the fifth Dalai Lama, the scion of the ạP'yoṅ rgyas princes, was born, the ruins of old castles, the village and the big monastery of the Yellow sect called Ri bo c'os sde, founded by sKal bzaṅ rgya mts'o. The fort itself is very interesting, because it is one of the most powerful castles of central Tibet. On the top two layers are easily visible in the building: the first, made of stone bricks, is certainly medieval, the second one is composed of huge dried clay blocks and represents the oldest part of the construction. Just on the top of the hill there is a temple and the tradition goes that below it there is a tomb. This castle is called ạPyiṅ ba stag rtse according to the local tradition which is also met with in the literary sources. ạPyiṅ ba is the name of the hill where the fort of ạP'yoṅ rgyas is built; therefore the locality where the tomb of Sroṅ btsan sgam po was made, is also called ạP'yiṅ ba mda' viz. below ạPyiṅ ba or ạPyiṅ p'u. ạP'yiṅ ba is to be met in the legends and historical traditions of Tibet: so, for instance, in the chronicles of Tun huang it is already known as the residence of Ša k'yi, son of Dri gum (Grigum), p. 127. In the same chronicles mention is also made of P'yiṅ ba stag rtse as the palace of Stab sna gzigs grandfather of Sroṅ btsan sgam po, p. 132. In the *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa, k'a*, p. 41 *a*, ạP'yiṅ stag rtse is said to have been founded by sTon ri ston btsan after having soaked the soil with milk of a red cow; according to the *Deb dmar* their castle was built by Pu de guṅ rgyal: it is called in this text ạPyiṅ ṅa stag rtse. It is also quoted in *Pad ma t'aṅ yig*, chap. 46 (TOUSSAINT, p. 234, translates: la contrée au feutre est la Pointe du Tigre).

The country on the right side of the river, a quarter of mile to the south of the village is called even now Don mk'ar, Don mk'ar mda' (fig. 1). It is therefore the place where, according to the tradition, the greater part of the tombs were built. The first natural hillock, on the right side of the river and on the top of which a small temple is built belonging to the Red Sect, is universally known as the tomb of Sroṅ btsan sgam po. It is surrounded by the usual *skor lam*, the circumambulation, but clear traces can still be seen of a very old wall (*lcags ri*), which encircled the entire place. Near by there are many other mounds which are said to be the tomb of Mu tig btsan po, Guṅ ri guṅ sroṅ, ạP'rul gyi rgyal po located as shown in the following figure (see p. 33).

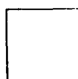
All these tombs are natural hillocks created by the erosion of the valley, but in many of them the adaptation by man to a regular square form is still quite evident, this being chiefly clear for the tombs of Mu tig btsan po and that of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. There is no doubt that the tradition has an historical foundation and that these mounds are really the tombs of the old kings of Tibet. First of all, this tradition is old, since we have met it in some of the more reliable chronicles of the country; then it is confirmed by those traces of adaptation by man alluded to above and also by the erection of a pillar (*rdo riṅ*) near the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. Raṅ ạbyuṅ rdo rje refers, as we saw, to this pillar. These *rdo riṅ* were found in all the temples built by the Tibetan kings converted to Buddhism. They are not always meant to have inscriptions engraved on their surface; for instance there is no trace of inscription in U šaṅ rdo. The edict, which they contain and in which the profession of faith of the kings is made, was put in some boxes of precious metals and then kept inside the chancellery



FIG. 1

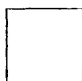


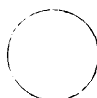
Mu ru btsan po



Guṅ ri guṅ btsan

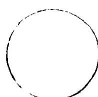
rdo riṅ





Mu tig btsan po

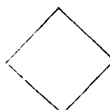
K'ri lde sroṅ btsan



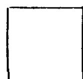
Sroṅ btsan sgam po

rdo riṅ





Village





Gompa

Chonghie fort

and the temples: copies were distributed to different communities and then engraved on the pillars. So the pillar may or may not contain an inscription; but it has a meaning by itself which corresponds to some general ideas which we find all over the Asiatic world. The pillar as soon as it is placed in a spot, testifies to a definite possession of the soil upon which it is planted: the king identifies himself with the Law and then with a visible symbol of it, viz. the pillar: a new cosmos is built, the cosmos of the Law, the magic centre of which is that very pillar symbolizing the king himself. In that way the chaotic forces moving underneath the soil, the world of the *sa bdag* and *klu*, the waters expressing the primeval chaos and the devil are subdued: a new order is so established and the way to heaven is opened; the pillar is in fact at the same time the way leading to heaven, it is the *axis mundi* perforating the planes of existence; it is therefore the royal counterpart of the work undertaken by Padmasambhava and his Indian companions, when they were called into Tibet to subdue the indigenous demons who were the cause of deseases, epidemics and troubles of all kinds; Padmasambhava turned them into guardians of the Law and custodians of the temples. A revolution of planes was then realized, and it was testified by the erection of the *rdo riṅ*. This explains why sometimes we see engraven on their surfaces the figures of some dragons, the symbol of the powers underneath, definitely made obedient by the magic operation culminating in the erection of the pillar. If this is certainly the meaning of the *rdo riṅ* of the temples, it should also be that of those planted near the tombs. The tomb of a king has the same meaning as the temple; it is a sacred spot, a projection upon earth of the celestial spheres and a piece of soil to be kept for ever in that state of ideal transfiguration;

all this is confirmed by some references concerning the *rdo riṅ* which we find in the *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa* (*rGyal po bka' t'aṅ*, p. 43); according to this text the erection of a *rdo riṅ* is one of the four gates of the virtuous practice (*dge spyod*) of the king, the other three being the building of the tomb, of the castle and of the temple. To erect these pillars is not a mere technical enterprise; it was a magic work which ensured the real and definite possession by the king of his land and his control upon the spirits and demons. That is why special workers were needed to cut the stone and to engrave upon it the inscription, which referred to the deeds of the ancestors *yab mes rgyal pos ji ltar mdsad ts'ul* and contained the royal edict *t'aṅ yig rgyal poi bka' luṅ rtsal*, ibid., p. 43 *b*.

The ceremony of consecration (*rab gnas*) was therefore needed and on that occasion all people gathered, because the efficacy of the magic rite might spread upon them and they on the other hand transferred their energies to the soil. In this way *bde skyid*, happiness, was ensured to the country. The pillar was there in the centre of the consacrated area which was thus ideally and magically changed into a centre of the universe; at the four corners, as custodians of the holy space, were built four *mc'od rten*, according to a plan which we find in the most important temples built by these kings: bSam yas, Ramagan, U šaṅ rdo. They were of four different colours according to the different corners which they were meant to protect; but being on the border, as a protection of the four corners, just like the *lokapālas* or the *c'os skyoṅ* were requested to do on the surface of the maṇḍala, they were built not by the king, but, each of them, by one of his ministers. (Ibid., p. 34 *b*).

It should be added that this *rdo riṅ* is called by RCD: *rtsis rdo riṅ* which name is also found in KT (p. 43). This

word *rtsis rdo riṅ* could be understood as " pillar containing a census" but all these inscribed pillars contain a *gtsigs* or *bka' gtsigs* an ordinance, an edict; therefore *rtsis rdo riṅ* must be taken as meaning the same as *gtsigs rdo riṅ*, pillar containing an ordinance, an edict.

The surface of the stone is nowadays much damaged and a great part of the inscription is effaced. The lower portion is completely gone and a few lines are underground (fig. 2). The inscription is difficult to read because the stone is badly corroded and also because some designs have been roughly engraved upon its surface; these designs are chiefly *gyuṅ druṅ*, *svastika*: it is interesting to see that they were, originally, Buddhist *svastika* running to the right, but on a second time some new elements have been added to their arms to make them turn to the left: this shows that this modification was done on purpose by some Bon po. Is this a sign of the conflict between the two religions which broke out at the times of gLaṅ dar ma?

The text which is edited in the appendix is based upon the copy which I took on the spot and upon the photos which were taken on the same occasion. My text was then compared with the copy taken by Mr. Richardson who a few months after I left Tibet went to Chonghie. He succeeded in persuading the local people to bring to light the portion of the *rdo riṅ* which was underground and was therefore able to complement my text. He has been kind enough to put at my disposal his copy of the inscription for which I express to him my most sincere thanks.

1) The king, divine son, O lde spu rgyal from (the condition of being a)



FIG. 2

2) God of heaven, (as he was), came (down upon earth) to be a prince of men. The good religious manners began to
3) be established (so that they could) never change; as to his great power, never was its splendour damaged.
4) The government afterwards increased and his helmet
5) was for a long time mighty; according to the great doctrine of the *gyuṅ druṅ*,
6) the king, the divine son, K'ri lde sroṅ btsan became prince of men.
7) In accordance with the divine manners his power was great;
8) in agreement with the Law of heaven his order was mighty.
9) By the ways of his profound mind and of his good command
10) there was good both outside and inside.
11) In order that all men should know for ever how this happened a brief
12) summary was written on a pillar.
13) Of the btsan po, the divine son, K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, his Majesty, the divine emanation,
14) the spirit is steady, the intentions wide and firm, the inclinations able.
15) The spirit greatly strong ..... such-like the mind.
16) Though he was the prince of his subjects (*ạbaṅ* for *ạbaṅs* ?) there arose deceitful works ..... of not .....[77]
17) and therefore inside there were troubles and people were not ..... (or if *p'yi* is to be read instead of *myi*: outside ..... were not) and the Tibetan territory
18) became not ..... and made subjects;
19) the family of the son in law and of the son and the government became ever mighty and the subjects were happy

20) sent ..... of men
21) there was not ..... placed inside
22) also greatly (his) intentions ..... of His Majesty (K'ri lde sroṅ btsan);
23) in the eight quarters the orders were strong and the Government great; of the four quarters (in the copy of Mr. H. E. Richardson: *gyo* but the parallelism with PTY suggests: *p'yo*[*gs*])
24) to the great kings not ....., between a quarrel having arisen
25) they ventured to be enemies; as soon as it was received
26) with an army ..... led into the country ..... in China (?)
27) up to that ..... in the beginning of doing that .....
28) ..... the temple; always.
29) ..... was on the border in the great
30) ..... agreement (or punishment)
31) government
32) in the quarrel [78]
33) ..... stone ..... with
34) ..... the two Tibets
35) ..... like .....
36) also ..... not (or men)
37) ..... under the sun the Government
38) ..... preparing
39) ..... in the (northern) country the Dru gu [79]
40) ..... the yellow Hor [80] ..... between, quarrels having arisen, the Government
41) ..... the U gur [81] and in ..... so ..... up to ..... Tibet
42) in great ..... divided the kingdom (*man ṅas* should be: *mnaṅs*) China
43) of the country ..... to guard, ... up to ..... Koṅ ..... by the section of the Southern Hor

44) by .....; also to the Government made straight ..... asked; these
45) etc...... the king ..... under the sun
46) ..... the Government also ..... the noble Law
47) very powerful

In spite of the damaged condition in which it has been preserved, this inscription is very important from many points of view. It not only allows us to identify the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan Sad na legs, but it throws some light upon the sources of a very famous book, namely the KT. With this text I dealt in TPS, p. 113 ff.; I there showed that though it was, so to say, edited by O rgyan gliṅ pa in 1347, it is composed of various fragments, many of which are certainly old. Our inscription shows the method followed by the *gter ston*; they pieced together portions of various origin, but connected with the same subject. The materials which they used may very often go back to the time to which they refer, though adapted to the new situation and, as regards the language, made easier to understand. If we compare our inscription with the *rGyal po bka' t'aṅ*, it appears that the relation between the two texts is very strict; so strict that we are in a condition to complement, in some cases, the missing portions of the inscription with the help of the book.

Inscr. 14-5 *t'ugs sgam. k ... y ... brtan zuṅ t'ub t'ugs stob c'e'o* - can ben restored with the help of *rGyal po bka' t'aṅ*, p. 85 *a*, l. 5; *t'ugs sgam bka' btsan k'oṅ rgyud yaṅs pa daṅ | zuṅs t'ub byad pas t'ugs stobs rab tu c'e.*

Equally the section concerning the campaigns of the king finds its counterpart in the same book, p. 21, l. 3 ff., l. 22 *p'yogs brgyad du (bka' btsa)n c'ab srid c'e bá ste*; p. 21 *b*, l. 3 *mt'a'*

bži p'yogs brgyad bka' btsan te c'ab srid la; ll. 23, 24 *p'yogs bži rgyal po c'en por ma ..... bar du bka' k'on byuṅ nas | dgra ru sdod* (?); p. 21 *b*, l. 3 *p'yogs bžir rgyal po sde bži gnas pa yaṅ bar du bka' ạk'on byuṅ nas dgra ru sdo.* Generally, as regards this historical portion, one must refer to the corresponding passage of the same book, pp. 21 *b* - 22 *a*, which I do not need to reproduce here, since it has been already made known by F. W. Thomas.[82] Though the inscription is badly preserved, still it appears that the same peoples are there recorded as in that text, thus giving authority to the rÑiṅ ma pa tradition and showing that, inspite of some legendary embellishments, the historical validity of much information contained in KT concerning this king is fully conrfimed.

It appears that O rgyan gliṅ pa had a copy of the inscription at his disposal or, which seem to me less probable, a text which had used that same inscription. As a matter of fact, the *rGyal po bka' t'aṅ* is, so to say, dedicated to K'ri lde sroṅ btsan Sad na legs: it was written, as the text itself states, at the request of this king and it is theretore the most important source of information concerning this personage who, in the rest of the Tibetan historical literature, is left almost in the background, if compared with his predecessor K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, the founder of bSam yas, and K'ri gtsug lde Ral pa can his son and successor. This process which made of him a secondary figure, is again confirmed by the story of MVP which, though undertaken by his order, was then attributed, as we saw, to Ral pa can.

The rule of this king was not therefore uneventful; besides the raids in Turkestan referred to by Prof. Petech it is clear, on the authority of KT and of this inscription, that he was engaged in wars against China, the Dru Gu, the Uigur and the Hor. But we cannot fail to perceive that there is a disagreement

between KT and the Karchung inscription on one side and the edict engraved on his tomb. In this, in fact, there is no reference to the Buddhist faith which, following the example of his father, he praises in the Karchung ordinance: the only reference to Buddhism is perhaps found in the last but one line of the funeral eulogium: *dam pai c'os*, though the very fragmentary condition of the inscription does not allow us to draw from those words any conclusion. On the other side, the beginning of the inscription is conspicuous not only for the absence of any reference to Buddhism, but for its Bon po terminology. Leaving aside *lhai c'os* which is ambiguous since *Lhai c'os* is used also by the Buddhist, though at a later date, for their own doctrine, other espressions like *gyuṅ druṅ gi gtsug lag* and *gnam c'os* (cfr. *gnam bon*, the Bon of heaven, recorded by Sum pa mk'an po, TPS, p. 720) are peculierly Bon po; he makes no mention of his predecessors who were responsible for the introduction and the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, as he did in the Karchung edict; but only O lde spu rgyal is mentioned. This unmistakable character of the exordium of the inscription is very strange for a person who on other occasions proclaims himself a staunch supporter of Buddhism. I am therefore inclined to think either that in the second part of his life the king changed his mind and that he turned back to the religion of his forefathers (this would explain the little importance which the historical sources give him and the attribution of MVP to his son) or that his acceptance o Buddhism was subject to many limitations; the probable mention of Buddhism in the last part of the inscription seems to rule out the first alternative; we must therefore conclude that quite possibly the death ceremonies were for a long time performed according to the traditional Bon po rites.

Under the fort there is another pillar, but the inscription is completely gone, only a few letters being now visible.

There is therefore no doubt that in ạP'yoṅ rgyas the tombs of some of the most famous kings of Tibet are located. Is there any prospect of some discovery in the excavation of these mounds, when archeologists will be allowed to examine their contents? I doubt it. We know, for instance, from the chronicles of the Sa skya lama Grags pa rgyal mts'an (1147-1216) that these tombs were opened and violated in the year fire-bird. This date fire-bird can be either 877 or 937. For the determination of the year we may have recourse to PT, p. 140, who states that a revolt took place twenty three years after gLaṅ dar ma in the year earth-ox. This king died according to Tib. and Ch. chronicles in the year 842, but according to PT in the year 846. In this case $846 + 23 = 869$ earth-ox. Nine years after, in the year fire-bird, 877, viz. in the same year in which the violation of the royal tombs took place, according to the Sa skya pa authors, Šud p'u sṅag rtse and some other conspirators held a council (on Šud p'u see JRAS, 1927, p. 66), and allotting to each of themselves a special task investigated the tombs: gÑags investigated the tomb of mK'ar mda'; Ts'e spoṅ šaṅ that of rGyal c'en; Šud p'u that of Sroṅ btsan; that of ạP'rul rgyal was investigated by Greṅ ạp'yos k'u (TP, p. 140 *b*). That this is an historical fact seems also to be proved by the lists of the objects buried within the mounds contained in some other books, for instance, in the *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa.*[83] So even supposing that one day the religious scruples of the Tibetans will fade and archeological researches be allowed, I do not think that there is any prospect of any discovery to be compared with those made during the excavation of the funeral mounds of some Mongolian chiefs.

Having published the two inscriptions preserved in ạP'yoṅ rgyas I take the opportunity of editing here also the inscriptions of the *rdo riṅ* of bSam yas [84] and of the bronze bells of that same temple and of K'ra ạbrug. bSam yas is a well-known place to the South of Lhasa not very far from the Tsangpo. Is was built [85] by K'ri sroṅ lde btsan under the advice of Guru Padmasambhava. It was more than once destroyed by fire and therefore very little is preserved of the old building. The only thing which seems to go back to the time of its erection are a pillar and a bell. On the pillar the following inscription is engraved (fig. 3).

« In the chapels (*gtsug lag k'aṅ*) of Ra sa and Brag mar, [86] the foundation of the receptacles (*rten*) dedicated to the three jewels may this practice of the Buddhist law be never abandoned, never destroyed, the furnishing of the requisites be never diminished, or lessened from that (which has now been established). From this time onwards, this is the promise of each generation of the kings, fathers and sons. Let transgression of this oath be never made, never happen. The gods of this world and those of the other world and the Lha ma yin are invoked as witnesses (to this oath). The king, father and son, the princes and the ministers so have sworn. One detailed letter containing the ordinance has been put aside.». [87] This inscription of bSam yas is not unknown to the Tibetan historians; it is in fact contained in PT, p. 111 *b*. It is also to be noted that his copy is quite exact; the only different readings being: l. 8 *skyuṅ* instead of *bskyuṅ*: l. 9 *ạcad* instead of *cad*: l. 16 *p'aṅ du* for *dp'aṅ du*. Though in the text itself there is no mention of the king who had the inscription engraved, we know from PT that it was written at the time and by order of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, the king connected with Padmasambhava

and the founder of the temple. The fidelity with which PT copies this inscription suggests that with the same exactness he might have reproduced in his book other documents, whether inscriptions or not, which he met in the course of his historical researches. In fact we find in *Ja*, p. 108 *b*, the text of an edict (*bka' gtsigs*) which can be considered as the foundation-chart of the Tibetan Buddhism. « At the time of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, having been written in gold on a blue paper [88] the text of the edict, this was placed in a golden box in the treasure in bSam yas lhun gyis grub. That is the original (*dpe*) after which this was written. This is the original (*dpe*) of the edict that the three Jewels are never to be abandoned, never forsaken, which was (put) inside the box: placing at the top the meaning which comes forth from the words of the Tathāgatas, this is so: if one does not bear in mind the truth, even the three places of existence become a place of sorrow. There is nobody who has not already been born (in a previous existence); once he is born, he acts with purpose or without purpose | then he dies; | being dead, he is born again in a good or bad state of existence; | then, he who is well-gone is the Buddha, | the perception of the truth is the text of the Law, | the leader to goodness is the community. These (three things) are the constant refuge and as good as an island (where to stay). | The three jewels are an increasing blessing. | Even at the time of the former fathers and grandfathers, each generation made (these three Jewels) the custom (of the country) | and there were really old and new temples. | After the btsan po my father went to heaven, | there being examples of various kinds, [89] in the year of the sheep on the 17th day of the month of the spring the temple of Lhun gyis grub pa [90] (as a) receptacle (of the Law) was established. | From " that moment downwards |



Fig. 3

in Tibet, let the three jewels with the receptacles of the Law | be made, | let the practice of the Buddhist law be never forsaken" | (so was) sworn by the king and his son and by the wife of the son and they made it their vow and the ministers of the interior and of the exterior, those of higher and lower rank wrote down this edict which contains this oath. | The temple of aP'rul snañ [91] in Ra sa, | the temple of Ra mo c'e founded by the Chinese,[92] | the temple of Lhun gyis agrub of bSam yas in Brag dmar, | the temple of Mi ldog grol in K'ams gsum [93] etc. to the families of Tibet from above | are established as receptacles of the three jewels. | May also salvation be embraced by Tibet and this practice of the Buddhist Law be never | abandoned, be never forsaken. | May also salvation be embraced by Tibet. | In all these temples the property | necessary for the | requisites (of the cult) of the three jewels | has been properly measured and offered from above; | may they also be never diminished, never be lessened; | from now downwards let each generation also, | like the kings father and son, make the promise and accept it; | by the higher ministers also so was sworn. | To such a vow all the Buddha of the ten quarters, | all the precepts of the supreme law, | the community of the Bodhisattvas, | the Pratyekabuddhas and the auditors, | all the gods placed in heaven and on earth, | the gods of Tibet, | the nine sorts of gods, | the Klu, | the gNod sbyin and the Mi ma yin are | invoked as witnesses; | may they be aware that no transgression of this edict will be made. | If one does not act as this edict enjoins | and if one lies or perjures the three jewels | be that one reborn among the infernal beings; | if they act in this way (as contained in this edict), | may all become perfectly illuminated Buddhas of whom nothing is higher. | Even the text containing the instructions how the Buddhist Law spread in Tibet formerly and

later was composed along with that edict. Such an original was made in 13 copies. | One was kept in the Archives[94] | two were stamped with a seal | and each one of them was distributed to the community of ạPrul snaṅ in Ra sa and in Lhun gyis ạgrub of bSam yas in Brag dmar. Ten were stamped with a seal at the end and a copy was given to the temple of the ạP'rul snaṅ of Ra sa, the temple of Lhun gyis ạgrub of bSam yas, to the temple of bKra šis lha yul of K'ra ạbrug, to the community of the Palace; and to the communities of Ra mo c'e founded by the Chinese in Ra sa and of K'ams sum mi ldog sgrol in Brag dmar, of Bru ža, of Žaṅ žuṅ, of mDo smad, to the countries of the provincial governors (*sde blon ris*), to be kept by them.

As to those who swore they were:

The nephew, the prince 'A ža. The great Žaṅ blon in charge: the great minister Žaṅ rGyal gzigs šu t'eṅ; the minister (blon) sTag sgra klu goṅ; Žaṅ rGyal ts'an lha snaṅ; the minister rGyal sgra legs gzigs; the minister bTsan bžer mdo lod, Žaṅ rGyal ñen zla goṅ; the minister K'ri gaṅs rgya goṅ; gCen mts'o btsan; Žaṅ rGyal ts'an le goṅ.

The ministers of the interior: the min. Gra ạji žaṅ rams šags; Žaṅ A srin; Ža sṅa k'ri gñen; the min. Klu goṅ; 'Oṅ k'a lha mts'o; the min. Šaṅ btsan; the min. Srin skyugs; the min. ạDus ston; Žaṅ sTag c'ab; Žaṅ Legs ạdus.

The ministers of the exterior: Žaṅ Bal bu staṅ; Žaṅ Lha gzigs; the min. La kun rtse; the min. sBra bžin; the min. sToṅ t'ub; the min. Zla goṅ; the min. gCug k'yuṅ myin; the min. Lhos po; Žaṅ rGyal snaṅ; the min. Byin byin; the min. Loṅ po, the min. rTsaṅ lod; the min. gÑan koṅ.

The chiliarchs and the generals: the min. sKyas bzaṅ stag snaṅ; the min. sNaṅ koṅ; the min. K'yi c'uṅ; the min. Klu

bžer; Žaṅ mar bu; the min. Lha mts'o; the min. P'a ra mi; the min. Šaṅ rdsoṅ; the min. Mig k'yuṅ c'uṅ; the min. Taṅ bu; K'u rgya btsan; K'u ba yu brtsan; the min. mDo gzigs; the min. K'oṅ k'ri; the min. K'oṅ legs; the min. rMaṅ k'a skyes; the min. mDo bzaṅ; the min. K'ri goṅ.

The text containing the instructions how the Law appeared in Tibet was placed along with (that edict). It was written by Braṅ ti Šri la var ma.[95]

Ibid. p. 110 *a*.

As to the second edict it is the following: « At the time of king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan | the composition of the writing containing the chronicle of the origin of the law (in Tibet) | was written in silver gilt [96] | and then placed in a golden box; | this was placed in the treasure of dPal bsam yas. That being the original, this was written. | As to the writing of the story of the practice of the Buddhist law along with the receptacles of the three jewels in Tibet from the very beginning, the original is inside the box. At the time of the fourth ancestor K'ri sroṅ btsan,[97] the dPe har [98] of Ra sa was founded which was the beginning of the Buddhist Law. After that time up to the time of my father K'ri lde gtsug brtsan, when the temple of Kva c'ur in Brag dmar was built and the Buddhist law was practised, five generations passed. When my father went to heaven, there was intention of hostility [99] of some ministers (Žaṅ blon) and the practice of the Buddhist Law practised from the time of grandfather and father was destroyed. Then afterwards it was not allowed to practise in Tibet the Law nor (to adore) the gods of Nepal in the South. Moreover the order was written not to allow any practice (of the Law) inside and outside. Then when his majesty [100] the king reached the twentieth year of age, in the beginning there were calamities [101]

and bad omens: though they were removed (on account of some ceremonies which were then made), (still) for the reason of those calamities and bad omens lasting various months, though there was an order not to practice the Buddhist Law, the order was not followed, it was abandoned; and worship to the three jewels was also made; so was done and happy times [102] followed. Then some good friends (Kalyānamitra) supported (the king) and listened also to the Law and submitted a writing to His Majesty and advised [103] also to develop and to practise the Buddhist Law. « There the old Tibetan law is not good. By various prayers to gods and rituals, everybody is addicted to (actions) not good, (in so far as) some put red colour on their body,[104] some are addicted to causing damage [105] to the government, some are addicted to causing diseases to men and cattle, some others to producing famine; but considering the Law in itself, | if the effect of the Law were not in this world, numberless beings would be born in the four forms of existence and would there transmigrate from the very beginning without end. Existence is according to the nature of one's karma. Whatever is (well done) in body, speech and mind becomes virtue, and whatever is badly done becomes a sin. Whatever is neither good nor bad is an undetermined act.[106] Moreover the fruit of the work done ripens in ourselves, viz. those who are reborn as a god in the celestial sphere, as a man on earth, as Lha ma yin, as yidag, as a beast, among the infernal beings underneath, in these six kinds of existence, are (drawn) by their own karma. The Buddha trascending the world and the Bodhisattvas, those who get the illumination by themselves, (Pratyekabuddha), and the auditors become (what they are) by accumulating by themselves the two accumulations of virtue and knowledge and by their gradual realization.

What is virtue? The ten good actions etc. What is not virtue? the ten non virtuous actions etc. What are the undetermined actions? the fourfold path of the practice. What are the transcending accumulations of virtue and knowledge? Besides the ten virtuous actions, the four truths, the twelve members of the origination caused by conditions and combinations, the 37 elements of illumination and the ten perfections. The fruits are the four kinds of absence of fear, the four supreme intuitions, the ten powers, the 18 kinds of unmixed attributes and the 32 kinds of great compassion [107] etc. The subtle explanation of all this is in the scriptures of the Law. If one wants to discriminate these things contained in the Law, (then we can say that) somebody, perceiving (the truth) by a good reception [108] (of its tenets) realizes it; somebody, though he cannot realize it immediately, being impressed [109] by the manners of those who have realized it, is able to grasp it with certainty; then, with the use of the sūtras he will be able to understand whether this Law is to be abandoned or to be practised. ». To the minor kings who rule over the subjects, to the prince 'A ža and to the ministers of the interior and the exterior he spoke and held a council. Then he pondered in connection with these three things first (the utility of) attending to the teachings of the Buddha, second the faith in the example of the father and the grandfather, then the support by virtue of the good friends. Besides the fact that those addicted to what is neither virtuous, nor good should not behave in such a way, he held a council in order that (the Law) should be increased.

In this way (in order to ascertain) how what is not good should not be done and how an increasing (of the Law) could be developed, a summary of the Law was well made; (it establishes) first that the realisation of the supreme aim is good

and ..... secondly that .....[110] it cannot be measured, thirdly: though it has been practised up to the times of my father and grandfather nothing derived from it which was not good; therefore if this reception [111] (of the Law) does not change, it will increase. Such council was held.

So also firstly the practice of the Buddhist Law surely is good and esteemed: secondly the example of old which had been extinguished was taken and given great care; thirdly it was made an oath and written that there should never have been transgression; for the future also ..... and this promise was also made and (all officials beginning with) the ministers swore to it ».

This is the way how K'ri sroṅ lde btsan accepted Buddhism and proclaimed it to be not only his own religion, but also that of his successors. These two charts are called *bka' gtsigs*, edicts, and this word explains the title of a book: *bSam yas ka ts'igs* (see note 6) which is considered by later writers as the fundamental source for the history of gSam yas. This *ka ts'igs* is nothing but a wrong spelling of *bka' gtsigs*, the ordinance of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan deposited in the treasury of the temple built by him and which is rightly called in the biography of Rwa lotsava: *rgyal poi bka' c'ems* " the will of the king ". TPS, p. 261, n. 254.

A third edict is also found at p. 128 *b* of the same history: this is attributed to the time of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan the last son of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. The edict is very important because it is partially reproduced in the inscriptions of Karchung (dKar c'uṅ, also sKar c'uṅ, PT, p. 128) temple, built by that same king on the southern bank of the sKyid c'u, about two miles from Lhasa. The temple is in ruins; in the village of Ramagan only four big mc'od rten are now to be seen at the four corners. The temple was called rDo rje dbyiṅs lha k'aṅ. This

means that it was dedicated to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala viz. to the tantric experiences based upon a famous text of the yoga-tantra class, the Tattvasaṅgraha specially famous in the esoteric schools of Tibet and Japan and centred upon some mystic realisations symbolised by Vairocana.

Though the text of the inscription of the Karchung has been meanwhile edited by Mr. H. E. Richardson, I think it useful to publish it again so that it may be compared with the *bka' gtsigs* of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan from which it is derived and which it summarizes. My text is based upon a copy which Mr. Richardson was kind enough to give me in Lhasa, on its revision on the spot when I visited Ramagan after my departure from Lhasa in August 1948 and on the photos which I took on that occasion (fig. 4).

« At the time of the son K'ri lde sroṅ btsan this edict was written on blue paper with gold and was placed in a box of silver gilt; it was written by taking as a model the composition by the father placed in the temple Lhun grub mi ạgyur in bSam yas.

« The king K'ri lde sroṅ btsan made a vow that the supreme Law would never be forsaken. Having thus sworn the edict was given. The reason why the edict was given first [112] of all is written (here). This supreme Buddhist Law is good, is great; it is not convenient not to practise it, it is a cause of a bad omen. At the time of my father K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, there was the first edict establishing that the Law would never be forsaken; and it was told in the historical narrative how the Law was obtained, and the scripture of the Law itself came to existence in a subtle way. In this way the Buddhist Law is good and great. It is not convenient not to practise it. First of all the grandfather Sroṅ btsan realised this and in Lhasa

he founded the dPe har. From then up to this time, when my father K'ri sroṅ lde btsan put in his heart the Law in a wider manner, founding Lhun grub mi gyur in bSam yas and building many temples all over Tibet, and I, K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, also put the Law in my mind and practised it, passed seven generations and, though the Law was practised, nothing happened which was not propitious, not good. At the time of my grandfather K'ri lde gtsug btsan, the temple of Kva c'uṅ in Brag dmar was built and the Law was practised, but he died when my father was still young and then somebody, who had not put the Law into his heart, did not allow in future the Buddhist Law to be practised and so he wrote even in the rules of the state. Then some calamities [113] having happened to my father K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, the Buddhist Law was again practised and this acted like a medicine; the Law was developed and an edict was (made) and it was also written as an oath that the Law would never be forsaken. Then after my father went to heaven, the following request was told to my ears and to those of the prince and the ministers: " From lots (which have been cast) and from dreams it has been ascertained that the practice of the Law causes calamities to the body of the king and to the realm and it is not good. The religious receptacles of the three jewels which are in the palace of the king should be put aside and restricted; it is not right to practise the Law". To this we rejoined in this way " if on account of false word, such as cast of lots and dreams, we should abandon a true thing such as the receptacles of the three jewels and the Law, this would be for ever unpropitious, not good and would be conflicting with the oaths made by all previous princes and the ministers, not to forsake the Law. Then the

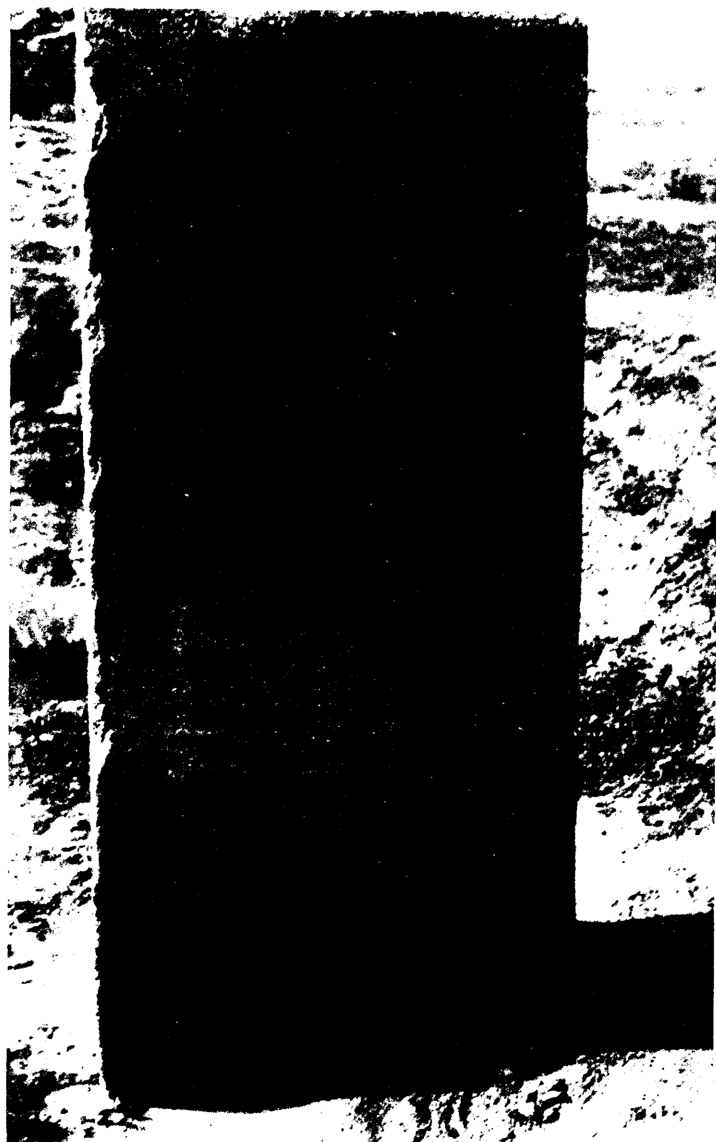


FIG. 4

edicts containing the oath of my father and the purpose of my heart were expanded in a new edict and all things deriving from this writing may it never happen that they should not be so done".[114] So I swore and this was the vow I made. The ministers of the interior and the exterior, of higher and lower rank swore and this was written. Having accepted the vow and the oath, the edict was made. Then this practice of the Law is appreciated; for whatever reason, either by lots which have been cast or by dreams, if they say: "It is a sin, it is not good" or for whatever other reason might be, the three jewels should not be forsaken, not abandoned. Whether those words are said by great or small men, lit it not be so done. From the time when the kings, the nephews and the uncles are young of age, up to the time when they take the power, from among of the monks, let them appoint their good friends, and put into their hearts the Law whatever may be put into their heart. The door should be open to all Tibet to learn and to practise the Law and to the Tibetan subjects from the upper Tibetan classes downwards never should the door leading to liberation be shut, but let all believers be lead to liberation. Out of that, the able ones, those who are always established in the teaching of the Blessed one and practise the teaching of the Blessed one, doing the works and the obligations (recommended by) the wheel of the Law and being addicted to the instructions of the things to be done (as recommended by) the wheel of the Law, should be appointed as good friends; those who enter priesthood should not be given into subjection of others, should not be heavily taxed and, being placed under the protection [115] of the householders, should not be subject to indigence, but given a place of honour by me,[116] the father with the son; and the receptacles of the three jewels should be established in the

palace of the king and none put aside and abandoned or not be given a place of honour. Shortly in the palace of the king and all over the country of Tibet there should be no way of denying and forsaking the Law. At any time, during the time of the grandfather and the father, the son and the grandson, there should be none of the requisites necessary for the three jewels which should not be among the things which is the rule not to diminish nor to forsake. So beginning from the prince and the ministers everybody did swear; the family of the prince also accepted the oath, then the princes and the ministers of the state recently appointed and the lower ones for whom it was right that they should swear; if there was anybody who had not so sworn, there was nobody who then did not so swear.

The queen and her sisters swore: the Queen of ạBro clan K'ri mo legs, the Queen of the mC'ims rgyal clan Legs mo brtsan and the Queen of Cog ro clan brTsan rgyal.

The minor kings who swore: the nephew, the prince 'A ža Dud kyi bul ži k'ud bor ma ga t'o yo gon k'a gan; rKoṅ kar po Maṅ po rje; Myaṅ btsun k'ri bo; the ministers higher and lower beginning from the ministers of the state who so swore; the Bande in supreme charge; the Bande Bran ka Yon tan; the Bande Myaṅ Tiṅ ạdsin; the ministers of the government in supreme charge; the great minister Žaṅ ạBro K'ri gzu ram šags; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal bTsan bžer legs gzigs; dBa' blon Maṅ rje lha lod; dBa's blon K'ri sum bžer mdo btsan; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal Lha bžer ne šags; rLaṅ blon K'ri sum rje speg lha.

The ministers of the interior: Žaṅ sNa nam K'ri sgra rgyal; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ mdo bžer p'es po; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ Lha bzaṅ Klu dpal; Žaṅ sNa nam rGyal legs dge ts'ug; Žaṅ sNa nam Lha bžer spe btsan; Bran ka Blon rGyal bzaṅ ạdus koṅ; Myaṅ blon K'ri bzaṅ legs ạdus, Leu blon Lha bzaṅ byin

byin; Toṅ blon sTag slebs; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal mDo gzigs; rLaṅ blon bSam skyes; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ Lha luṅ sto; Žaṅ sNa nam gÑan lod; 'Oṅ ka lha sbyin; ạBriṅ yas blon sTag rma; rTsaṅ rje blon K'yeu c'uṅ; dBal blon ạBro ma; sÑa šur blon Da gtsug sñas.

The officials of the exterior: K'ar pa rje blon bTsan slebs; K'u stag c'ab; Ža sṅa gTsan stag lod; K'yuṅ po blon rGyal ạbyuṅ; Šud pu blon K'oṅ k'ri; Leu blon Klu bžer; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ Klu mts'o sto; Pa tsab blon ạTs'o gzigs; Myaṅ blon Lẹgs btsan; rLaṅ blon gSas slebs; dBa' blon Lha bo btsan; Bran ka blon bSam pa; Ñi ba blon lDon koṅ; Šud pu blon sTag slebs; Ža sṅa gSas btsan..

As regards the chiliarchs (?), the generals and the officials of the exterior in charge: Lha blon K'ri bzaṅ gyu btsan, dBas blon K'rom bžer; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal sToṅ sña smon btsan; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ K'ri ... spu ra cuṅ; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal sTag bžer rgyal slebs; Žaṅ sNa nam bTsan sgra k'ri slebs; ạBrom blon rGyal bžer k'ar tsi; Lha luṅ blon Maṅ po rje skar koṅ; Žaṅ ạbro stag bžer pra ba la staṅ, dBa's rgyal Ta ra stag sña; Cog ro blon Lho goṅ; Laṅ gro blon K'rom legs, dBa' blon mDo btsan; Le'u blon Ku rma, Žaṅ ạBro stag staṅ; Maṅ sgra blon Klu rma, Žaṅ mC'ims rMa btsan; rTsa ạbrom blon sGa ạgu; K'yuṅ po blon Mes kol; Pa tsab blon spe ma; ạBrom Se ri staṅ, dBa's blon ạP'an legs; dBas blon K'rom legs; sKa ba mts'o lod; Cog ro blon Guṅ koṅ; dBas blon Mye slebs; K'u mye gzigs; Ža sṅa mu gñen; Žaṅ ạBro Guṅ staṅ; Žaṅ mC'ims rgyal Ma rmyin brtse; Žaṅ Ts'e spoṅ rMa btsan Cog ro brtan koṅ; gNaṅ yul bzuṅ; Cog ro K'yi btsan; sBraṅ mo rma; ạBro ldog sroṅ ston; ạBrom Yaṅ gzigs ».

These edicts are important since they show that the triumph of Buddhism was not an easy thing as the orthodox tradition

wants us to believe; there were even moments when the Bon pos took the upperhand and tried to eradicate the success of the Buddhists. Buddhism was then, of course, reduced to something very essential which reminds us of the *sūtra* of 42 articles which early missionaries introduced into China. It was very elementary and classificatory. I want also to draw the attention upon other facts. First of all on dPehar. Prof. Thomas and myself[117] have thought that dPe har was a foreign god introduced into Tibet from foreign countries. Laufer, on the other hand, had held the opinion that Pehar, dPe dkar, dPe har corresponds to sanskrit *vihāra.* Our text shows that Laufer[118] is right; Pe-har is originally equal to *vihāra.* But the passage from Pe-har, *vihāra* to Pehar as a *c'os skyoṅ* cannot have taken place without the personification of the monastery as a god protecting the *vihāra* itself. In this case the composed character of the *c'os skyoṅ* makes it possible that foreign deities were mixed with this new mythological type.[119]

That the *sruṅ ma* or presiding deity of the monastery which was later on identified with the *vihāra* itself is a foreign god is in fact testified by the legend of Pe har, the Hor god of the sGom grva chapel of the Bhaṭa Hor, with which I dealt in TPS. Here I must add that this same story is known also to PT who summarizes it in the following way: p. 89 *a.* « As regards the advice concerning (the deity) whom it was convenient to appoint as custodian of the word *(bka' sruṅ)* Padma, the second Buddha, said to the prince:[120] " O prince, there will come an emanation of the devil, who on account of the declining of the Law, will destroy the royal rules. At that time a Hor emanation of the *t'e dkar*[121] of the heaven will subdue the Tibetan kingdom and cause sorrow. Therefore the P'o lha of the Hor, Šiṅ bya can (he who has a wooden bird), a god of heaven,

should be appointed as protector of the illumination (*bodhi*). In order that the (Law) will not decline the (god) should be invited". And in Bi har gliṅ he made the religious receptacles (belonging) to the king and with an army of Ta ra, nāgas, and grouses he assaulted the meditation school (sGom grva) of the Hor and took away all its religious receptacles. The great Or gyan pa caused a real P'yag na rdo rje to be made and he engaged as his servant the great king rNam sras. This latter called all the army of the gNod sbyin and summoned the king of the Bi har, this catechumen of the gods, great general of the army, master of the eight kinds of armies, he who takes away the breath of the peoples, and converted, him along with his assistants and placed him at the service of the temple (*c'os skor*). The Tanka in which all this is displayed is called "the rNam sras of a̤Jaṅ". Since Šiṅ bya can "having a wooden bird" seems to be an attribute or an epithet rather than a name of the god, it is not excluded that the latter had a name similar to that of Pe har = Vihāra which made easier the assimilation. As to his attribute of Šiṅ bya can, one is reminded of the wooden sticks of the Shamans, symbolizing the nine heavens, upon which a bird is placed, cfr. U. HARVA, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der Altaischen Völker*, p. 549, fig. 104.

As regards *žaṅ* and *blon*, the documents may contribute to the solution of some problems of Tibetan philology. First of all we see that *žaṅ* can be used alone or with *blon*; we meet in fact either *žaṅ blon* or simply *žaṅ*: so also *blon* is used with *naṅ* and *p'yi* "interior" and "exterior", but also alone: in some cases, it follows the name of the clan dBa' blon, Ton blon etc.; *blon c'en po* is used only for the prince 'A ža, but in the literature there are other instances f. i. *bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa*, K'a (*rGyal po*

bka' t'aṅ) p. 67, 6: Blon po c'en po rta ra klu goṅ, Blon po c'en po rdo rje spre c'uṅ, Blon po c'en po Šud bu dpal seṅ, Blon po c'en po rGya ts'a snaṅ (same as rGyal ts'an lha snaṅ), Blon po c'en po K'ri btsan yab lha.

It has been stated on the basis of some Chinese sources that [122] *blon* is a title which the Tibetans used to give to personages belonging to the royal family. On the other hand Laufer thought that *žaṅ* is Chinese *šang* 尚 "minister". That *žaṅ* means uncle can hardly be doubted: this is the usual sense of the word and this is testified by the Tibetan and the Chinese tradition as well, when it refers to the relation existing between the Tibetan king and the Chinese emperor as being that of *dbon* and *žaṅ*, uncle and nephew.

This is also the relation asserted by some texts to exist between the Tibetans and the T'u yü hun, but in this case perhaps there is a mistake in the Chinese sources, the relation being inverted if ạBon, dBon which is the title given to the 'A ža, T'u yü hun, really means, as it seems, son in law.

The application of *dbon* and *žaṅ* to a same person, as we saw in the inscription referred to above, shows that, at least one of these words does not refer to parental relationship. *Žaṅ* cannot always mean father in law. Such is the case, in my opinion, of *žaṅ blon*, where the meaning implying that cognatic relation is excluded: in the expression *žaṅ blon*, *žaṅ* seems to have a pure honorific significance and I do not see any reason why we should not think of Chin. 尚. On the contrary when *žaṅ* is used alone, it seems certain that it applies to families from which the kings chose their wives. In order to be on firm ground, let us give a list of the wives of the Tibetan kings from Sroṅ btsan sgam po, up to Ral pa can, as they are known to us from the available sources.

KINGS	WIVES	MINISTERS
Sroṅ btsan sgam po	The Nepalese The Chinese TH, K'ri mo mÑen ldoṅ steṅ, Ña mo steṅ, K'ri mo steṅs; VDL, GR, Mon bza' K'ri lcam S, dMo (corr. mon) bza' K'ri mo gñaṅ; Žaṅ žuṅ bza'; Ru yod bza'	mGar
Guṅ sroṅ maṅ sroṅ	TH, Maṅ mo rje K'ri dkar; S, Va za ('A ža) Maṅ po rje	ạBro
Maṅ sroṅ maṅ btsan	TH, K'ri ma lod (so also GR); VDL, GR, ạBro bza' K'ri ma lod; S, ạBro K'ri c'en, K'rim lod	Ts'e spoṅ
ạDu sroṅ maṅ po rje	TH, bTsan ma tog; bTsan ma t'og steṅ of mC'ims; GR, mC'ims bza' me tog VDL, lC'ims bza' bTsan mo rtog ge; S, mC'ims bza' mts'ams me tog	GR, mGar sras gña btsan; sTog ra bod lod
Me k'ri lde gtsug ldan	TH, Kim Šaṅ; TH, Maṅ mo rje bži steṅ; GR, lJaṅ me k'ri btsun; VDL, ạJam mo K'ri btsun; GR, 83, 6, sNa nam bza' bza' steṅ; GR, lJoṅs mo K'ri btsun	GR, Skyi bzaṅ stoṅ btsan mC'ims rgyal šugs steṅ (viz. Šu t'eṅ); ạBro C'u bzaṅ 'or
K'ri sroṅ lde btsan	Chinese wife: TH, Ts'e spoṅ rMa rgyal ldoṅ skar; S, Ts'e spoṅ bza' rMa rgyal mts'o skar ma; BZ, Ts'e spoṅ bza' me tog sgron; GR, Ts'e spoṅ bza' ma tog sgron; VDL, Ts'e spoṅ bza'; GR, mK'ar c'en bza' mTs'o rgyal; GR, ạBro bza' Byaṅ c'ub gron; GR, mC'ims bza' Lha mo bzaṅ; GR, P'o yon bza'; BZ, K'yi rgyal maṅ mo btsan (she was ordained nun and then was called Byaṅ c'ub rje); BZ, Lha mo btsan	----

KINGS	WIVES	MINISTERS
Mu ne btsan po	GR, P'o yon (at p. 93 *a* ru but so at p. 93 *b*) bza' mDo rgyal	—
K'ri lde sroṅ btsan sad na legs	TH, Lha rgyal maṅ mo rje of ạBro; GR, Lha rTse; S, ạBro bza' Lha rgyal guṅ skar ma; BZ, ạBro bza' ma mo lha rgyal	BZ, ạBro K'ri gzuṅ

Now in the two above documents we find Žaṅ prefixed to the following names:

I Document:

1) rGyal gzigs šu t'eṅ
2) rGyal ts'an lha snaṅ
3) rGyal ñen zla goṅ
4) rGyal ts'an le goṅ
5) A srin
6) sTag ts'ab
7) Legs ạdus
8) Bal bu staṅ
9) Lha gzigs
10) rGyal snaṅ

These persons are mentioned without the name of the clan to which they belonged; but from TH, p. 132, we know that rGyal gzigs su t'en belonged to the mC'ims, rGyal ts'an lha snaṅ to the sNa nam; sTag ts'ab may be the same as K'ri bzaṅ stag ts'ab, TH, p. 46, or bTsan pa stag ts'ab of the ạBro clan (*bKa' t'aṅ sde lṅa*, *ca*, p. 7) if the two are not the same person. As to the others no conclusion can be reached since those persons

are not known to me. But in the second inscription the names of the ministers are preceded by that of their clan.

II Document:

mC'ims
sNa nam
Ts'e spoṅ
ạBro

Now it is clear that all these officials belong to the families connected by marriage with the kings, as a glance at the previous table clearly shows. Another example is found in the Ts'ur p'u inscription; Žaṅ Ts'es poṅ stag bzaṅ. So it appears to me that Žaṅ is the title given to officials related by marriage with the kings: which fully confirms the opinion of Han Ju-lin and Stein (*Studia Serica*, Vol. I, pp. 105-112; BEFEO, 1941, fasc. 2, p. 349).

But it is also clear that the statements of some Chinese sources referred to above, viz. that *blon* was a term indicating members of the royal family cannot be accepted: *blon* being a general title of all officials, whether it is employed alone or with other determinatives.

The edicts which we have published allow us also to draw a list of the most important offices in the royal court. After the queens duly mentioned with the name of their clan, we find the minor princes, *rgyal p'ran*, the vassals, viz. the petty kings who, though recognizing the suzerainity of the Tibetan bTsan po, were more or less independent rulers of their own land: 'A ža, rKoṅ po and Myaṅ. Then came the *blon c'en* belonging to the highest aristocracy of the country and generally to families connected with that of the king by intermarriage;

then the *nań blon* "the ministers of the interior" who were followed by the *p'yi blon* "the ministers of the exterior". These names were given to them not on account of the affairs with which they had to deal, but rather with the place they were given in the royal palace, *nań blon* being those allowed to enter the inner appartment of the king and sitting on a special row in the audience-hall. Then came the chiliarchs *stoń skor dbań po*, though as my copy of PT is very damaged, I am not sure of the reading, and the *dmag dpon*, the military officers.

The name Kva c'ur, Kva tsu also deserves our attention. We know of a town Kwa chou in China which the Tibetans claim to have conquered from the Chinese (TH, p. 48 and p. 150) at the time of K'ri lde gtsug btsan. On the other hand the temple of Kva c'ur was founded by this same king as stated by the inscription. The name Kva c'ur does not seem Tibetan at all and its spelling is uncertain. So we are justified in stating that the temple was built in order to commemorate the victory over that town and that it was then given its name; it is not the only example of places in Central Tibet bearing names similar to those of Central Asia or of the borderland between Tibet and China. We already know the case of 'On can rdo on the Ta tung ho river [123] and 'On cań rdo near Lhasa (then 'U šań rdo). Even sK'ar c'un was built in sKyid šod TP, p. 126 (S. CH. DAS S. U. sKyid šod). The name of the river is now spelt sKyid c'u (*skyid* = happiness), which is probably a learned spelling for the old sKyi, but, as we know, there is a sKyi on the extreme Eastern border of Tibet. Further examination is likely to find other examples of this reduplication of names. Moreover the names of the ministers and dignitaries who swore the oath and then signed the documents are very interesting. We shall therefore deal briefly with them

considering together those of the first and of the second document in order to avoid repetitions. The 'A ža are usually called dBon 'A Ža, ạBon 'A ža, even in TH. dBon means "nephew" certainly on account of the relation by marriage which existed between these chiefs and the Tibetan royal family since the times of Sroṅ btsan sgam po (cfr. BUSHELL, op. cit., p. 449). One is reminded of the opposite relation of uncle and nephew which was stated to exist between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king (see passage of GR translated above). Many of these dBon 'A ža are chiefs of the army; they are the highest officials of the state coming before the Žaṅ blon; they were given the title of Dar rgyal. They are called in our documents the 'A ža rje, the 'A ža prince. Our document PT, p. 128, is very important since it shows, beyond any doubt, the equivalence between T'u yü hun and the 'A ža, the Tibetan T'o yo gon of our document evidently corresponding to the Chinese T'u yü hun; so also Tib. Ma ga is the same as the Chinese *mo ho*, found in the Chinese transcription of some Turkish titles, f. i. baγa Targan and which was connected by Pelliot (TP, 1920, p. 329) with Mong. abaγa "Maternal uncle". Thomas advanced tentatively a connection with Iranian Ba ga.

Nothing can be gathered from the name of the prince; evidently it is a 'A ža name and not a Tibetan translation; it is to be noted that "*bor*", at the end, is also met at the end of some other names f. i. gTsan stag bor.

Our document shows also that T'o yo gon, T'u yü hun and 'A ža indicate the same people with the only difference that 'A ža seems to be attributed to one of the ruling classes or clans and T'o yo gon to the people as a whole.

Perhaps the 'A ža claimed to be the rulers of the T'u yü hun people, so being in contrast with another leading clan;

we may even see traces of this internal dissension in the fact recorded by the Chinese annals that Su ho kuei, "chief minister of the T'u yü hun, fled to T'u fan and divulged all their weak points so that the T'u fan succeeded in destroying his state". BUSHELL, p. 447. In TH there is no mention of the T'u yü hun, but only of the 'A ža. This may be attributed to the fact that the 'A ža, being considered the highest dignitaries of the Tibetan state and *dar rgyal*, were recognized by the Tibetan court as the effective rulers of their country, though the political relations of the Tibetan state with the mass of the people, who had remained in the country, were not always friendly. Moreover the Tibetan form seems to me to rule out the possibility of finding in the last syllable of T'u yü hun the same word as that which we might suppose was at the basis of Hūna (Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tibetan) as suggested f. i. by BAILEY, *A Khotanese text concerning the Turks of Kanṭsou* - Asia Major, I, p. 48: *hūnvāṣṭä* "to the Hūna", where as a third hypotesis *hūn* is considered to be on abbreviation of T'u yü hun. (According to newly discovered documents the T'u yu hun are Protomongolians. HAMBIS, JA, 1948, Tome CCXXXV, p. 239*f*).

rKoṅ po, rKoṅ po maṅ po rje refers to the prince of rKoṅ, Koṅ po; so also Myaṅ btsan to the chief of Myaṅ, the country near Gyantse (Myaṅ, Myaṅ ro etc. TH, Myaṅ ro in rTsaṅ, p. 147), both princes being given a special place since they had for some time great power and were connected with the royal family. That is why they are given the name of *maṅ po rje* or *rgyal p'ran*. Myaṅ maṅ po rje is refered to in TH, p. 130, at the time of Sroṅ btsan sgam po and p. 147 where the rebellion of rKoṅ maṅ po rje and Myaṅ is recorded. We learn another thing from the list of the ministers and officials,

which concludes the documents; namely that the religious teachers (Bande) officially invested, *bka' la gtogs pa*, probably the Kalyāṇamitras to whom the inscription refers, had a very high rank. We do not know whether their authority was really effective or not, but the place which they are given in these documents even before the Blon c'en and immediately after the 'A ža prince shows that they were considered as very important personages. Probably they were the advisers of the king, not only in religious matters and spiritual welfare, but also the leaders of the fight against the Bon po community. We must remember the spiritual atmosphere in which those people lived; it was not only a question of political or military power, but also of magical forces which were in conflict; so the presence was needed of effective priests who were supposed to have the control over the unseen forces and to be in a condition to expel any interference of the magical operation of their enemies. These two Bande bear names modelled upon those of the Indian masters, Yon tan = guṇa and Tiṅ ṅe ạdsin = samādhi. Both of these Bande are Tibetans from Bran ka and Myaṅ.

On the other hand, it is, very interesting to note that no mention is made here either of Padmasambhava or of Šāntirakṣita who, according to the well known tradition, should have been responsible for the revival of Buddhism in Tibet under K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. We must not insist upon this silence, since there is no doubt about the presence of these two masters in Tibet at the times of this king, but the fact that they are not named in the edicts may show that they were kept in the background probably for political reasons. They were making new converts and contributed to the decision taken by the king but, as foreigners, they could not appear in official

documents when the politics of the king against the Bon po encountered great opposition in the country.

Their personalities must therefore be considered according to two different points of views, that of their relation with the Tibetan state and that with the religious community which, as time went on, made of them the greatest apostles of Buddhism in the country.

Many of the ministers who follow belong to clans which are often referred to in the literary sources of various kinds.

Šud p'u THOMAS, JRAS, 1927, p. 66 and TH, p. 129, is not a military title, but the name of a clan as we can gather from the expression Šud p'u blon "the minister of Šud p'u" (cfr. also THOMAS, *Literary texts*, I, p. 271, n. 1) since in all these cases *blon* is preceded by the name of the clan; so also dBa' also written dBa's does not mean "magician or priest of a non-Buddhist religion" as formerly suggested by THOMAS, JRAS, 1927, p. 56, but is the name of a tribe of dBa': Bathang according to some sources (quoted by THOMAS, *Nam Language*, p. 6, n. 3) is so called from that tribe, though I do not think that we need go so far as that. The centre of the Tibetan dynasty being Yarlung and the adjoining valleys, it is quite probable that the aristocracy connected with it had its feuds in the bordering territories just as we often gather from TH; in that book all legends are in fact related to Yarlung, Koṅ po, Chongye, etc. dBa', dBa's is probably the same as sBa in dBus, cfr. THOMAS, *Literary texts*, I, p. 279; TUCCI, TPS, p. 737; ṣBas luṅ is f. i. near Dronjung in the valley of the Myan c'u between Gyantse and Shigatse. mC'ims is the name of a clan (and of country which was its feud) near bSam yas. Its members are often quoted in TH, PTY, Lhasa pillars, etc. See below n. 124. There was a time under

K'ri lde gtsugs mes ag t'ṣom when this clan, as it had been with that of mGar, was extreemely powerful (in Chinese it is called Ch'en, PETECH, op. cit., p. 62). If Oṅ ka is for On ka (this exchange is not unusual in old texts) it is the valley on the left of the gTsaṅ po opposite to Tsetang. This valley starts from Ngaritaktsan (mNa' ris grva ts'aṅ) and goes to the North as far as Choding and beyond. In this valley, according to the tradition, there was the cave of sTag ts'aṅ where Ye šes mts'o rgyal, who was to be the wife of Padma-sambhava, took refuge, so the legend goes, when her lover Zur mk'ar tried to get hold of her (*Ye šes mts'o rgyal gyi mdsad ts'ul rnam par t'ar*, p. 9 ff.). rLaṅs is the name of the clan in which Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an, the ruler of Tsetang and then of Tibet, was born; rTsaṅ is most probably for gTsaṅ (cfr. rTsaṅ for gTsaṅ po). Pa tsab is near Shigatse, see *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I. As to Cog ro there are many Cog ro in Tibet; according to *Myaṅ c'uṅ*, p. 17, one is in the road Gyantse-Shigatse; another is in dBus, the third in Žaṅ, cfr. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, part I, p. 69; TPS, p. 738. THOMAS, *Nam Language*, p. 58, referring to *Tibetan literary texts*, I, p. 279, n. 5 and II, pp. 10-12, locates Cog ro in the East as a territory belonging to the T'u yü kun just as P'yug ts'am identified by him with the Kökö-nor area and near sKa ba (Liang Chow), but I do not see any reason for it. ạBro was in gTsaṅ according to the military census in THOMAS, *Literary texts*, I, p. 277, TUCCI, TPS, p. 737, ạBrin was in dBus ibid., p. 274.

Many of the ministers here mentioned are known from other sources:

Žaṅ rGyal su t'en TH, p. 132; Lhasa edict JRAS, 1910, p. 257;

sTag sgra Klu goṅ TH, p. 132; GR, 85 *a*; JRAS, 1910, p. 1209;

rGyạl Tsaṅ lha snaṅ TH, p. 132;

bTsaṅ bžer mdo lod TH, p. 153;

K'ri gñen is perhaps the same as K'ri gzigs gñen JRAS, 1927, p. 55, TH, p. 759;

sKyes bzaṅ stag snaṅ TH, p. 153, JRAS, 1934, p. 485, sKyes bzaṅ;

K'yi c'uṅ TH, p. 50, maṅ po rje K'yi c'uṅ;

ạBro K'ri gzu ram šags TH, p. 132, introduction to MVP;

mC'ims rgyal bTsaṅ bžer legs gzigs, perhaps the same as mC'ims rgyal zigs TH, p. 153;

Zaṅ rGyal Ñen zla goṅ, cfr. Zla goṅ, Lhasa edict, JRAS, 1910, p. 1270;

dBa' Maṅ rje Lha loḋ TH, p. 132, introduction to MVP;

mC'ims rgyal Lha bžer ne šags, perhaps the same as Lha bžes JRAS, 1933, p. 553;

Lha bzaṅ klu dpal; KT, *k'a*, p. 68 *a*, GR, p. 34 *b*;

K'yeu cuṅ JRAS, 1934, p. 464;

Leu Klu bžer JRAS, 1927, p. 78.

As for the queens the document gives new data; in fact three queens are there recorded: K'rim legs of ạBro, Legs mo bzaṅ of mC'ims and bTsan rgyal of Cog ro; GR, p. 94 *a*, gives the king a wife Lha rtse not rTse, as the GR mss., *India Antiqua*, p. 318; but three wives are regularly attributed to lDeṅ k'ri who, as we saw, is the same as Sád na legs k'ri lde sroṅ btsan; unfortunately the GR does not give their names.

It is interesting to see that there is a certain difference between the text of the Karchung inscription as reproduced by PT and as it is actually read on the pillar of Ramagan. The impression which one has from a comparison of the two texts is

that the inscription of the Ramagan is modernized: the text of PT contains expressions which seem older f. i. *re* with negative sense and considering that PT is very precise as regards the *rdo riṅ* of bSam yas the same exactitude is to be expected in the other case. Moreover while the inscription on the *rdo riṅ* of bSam yas is mentioned by him before giving its text, no mention is made of the *rdo riṅ* of Ramagan. The fact also is to be noted of the aberrant reading mC'iṅs p'u for mC'ims p'u [124] which form is also found in TH. Is it really contemporary with K'ri lde sroṅ btsan or a later monument, erected at the time of the second propagation of the Law (*p'yi dar*) in order to establish the antiquity of the place? It might in fact be that on that occasion the ancient document preserved in the archives was actually engraved on the stone in a modernized form. Of course I advance this fact as a mere hypothesis which further researches might compel us either to accept or to reject. But it is equally possible that, as it is the case with the inscription of bSam yas, the summary of the edict was written on the *rdo riṅ* and this text was redacted in such a way as to be more easily understood by the common people, leaving aside certain archaicisms which were peculiar only to the literary style.

Besides the inscription on the pillar there is in bSam yas another old inscription on a huge bell hanging in the hall of the central temple. It is shaped like the Chinese bells: an inscription runs on its upper part (fig. 5).

« The mother noble queen and the king and son, in order that adoration be made to the three jewels, made this bell.[125] By the power of this merit the divine king K'ri sroṅ lde btsan the father and the son, may realize the supreme illumination endowed with the voice of the 60 (attributes)[126] of the precious word of the Buddha; this is the vow ».

Mention of this bell is contained in the PTY, Chap. 63 [127] (TOUSSAINT, p. 261) where we read: « then in the temple a bell was suspended: the Mi ma yin did not allow that it should be suspended. The *ācārya* made his *sādhana* in mC'ims p'u with the Brahmā-voice *ru lu* [128] making the evocation. The Mi ma yin were expelled [129] and the others placed the bell in the temple ».

This is not the only old bell preserved in the Tibetan temples. Another one is found in the Yarlung valley in the temple of K'ra ạbrug. [130] This temple boasts of being one of the oldest temples in Tibet. Its foundation is attributed by tradition to Sroṅ btsan sgam po. But it has been burnt down by the Zungars, so the tradition goes, and very little remains of its old splendour. The late Dalai Lama had it rebuilt and so, most likely, the ancient frescoes, if any remained, were definitely replaced by new ones. The only thing of archaeological interest is the bell which contains an inscription.

During my visit to the place I tried to copy this inscription but the bell is so placed that it difficult to examine it properly without the help of a ladder which was not found: so my reading is not complete. Anyhow the most important part of the inscription is clear: it states that the big bell was there placed at the times of Lha btsan po K'ri lde sroṅ btsan and that the prayer that all living beings should be induced to the practice of virtue was made by Byaṅ c'ub the wife of the donor.

It is added that the man who melted the bell was the abbot, the chinese master Rin c'en.

The inscription is not therefore very important: it is written more or less on the same scheme as that of bSam yas or that if Yer pa, the famous hermitage a dozen miles to the East of Lhasa where both Padmasambhava and Atīśa retired for

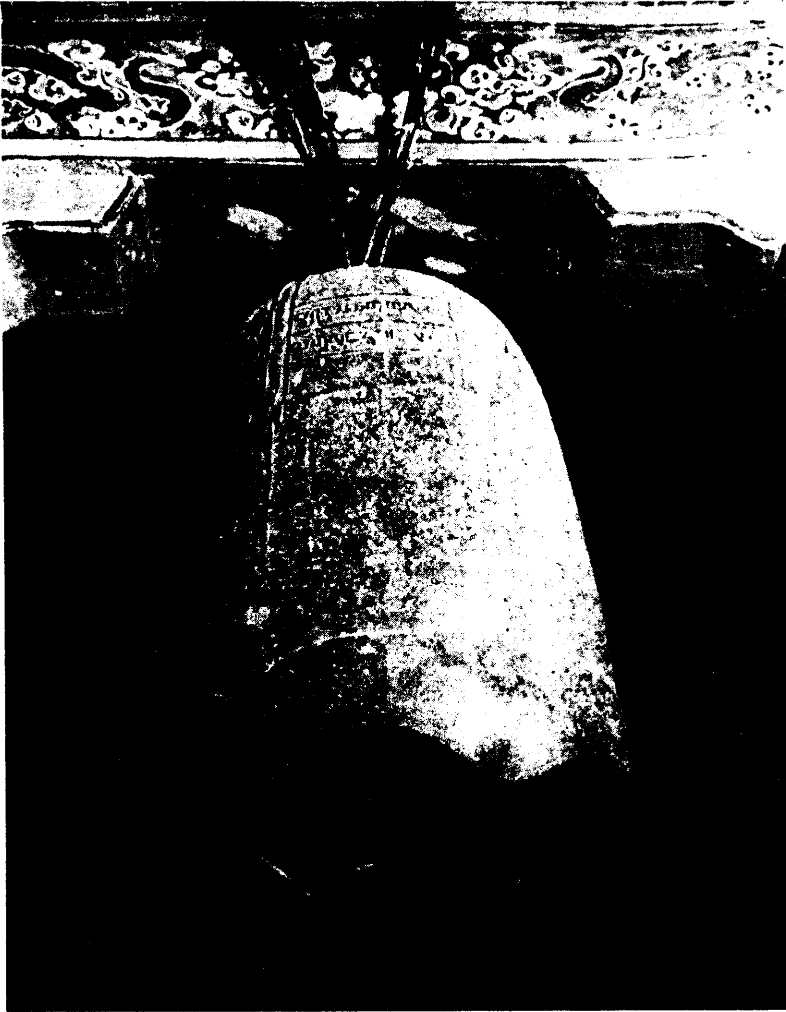


FIG. 5

meditation. Unfortunately in the bell of Yer pa the portion where the name of the king was written is gone.

From the bell of K'ra ạbrug we may draw the conclusion that it was a gift of the builder of the chapel, as in the case of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and bSam yas. In this case the traditional account that K'ra ạbrug was founded by Sroṅ btsan sgam po should be modified in the sense that its author was K'ri lde sroṅ btsan. This would agree with the fact that the edicts published above do not contain any mention of this temple, while those of Lhasa are both recorded. The queen here mentioned must be one of the wives of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan, the Byaṅ c'ub gron of GR and Byaṅ c'ub rje of SZ.

We may now draw some conclusions from the materials which we have collected. First of all there is no doubt that the country of Yarlung and Chonghie is to be considered the craddle of the Tibetan civilization, even though it might not have been the original home of the clan which came to rule over Tibet. In Chonghie were the castle of the ruling dynasty, its secret archives containing the records of its deeds and relations with foreign powers, the tombs of its ancestors. Even in this case the validity of the tradition preserved by the chronicles is fully confirmed, just as it happens with the lists of the kings which, as I showed in a paper already referred to, agrees with the chronicles of Tun huang. We come to the same conclusion regarding the traditional data of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet. It seems ascertained that Sroṅ btsan sgam po built two chapels in Lhasa, as asserted by his descendants, and it is highly possible that the Ra mo c'e was really founded by his Chinese wife and on account of that called *rgya gtags*, founded by the Chinese. It is also true that the greatest development of Buddhism took place under K'ri

sroṅ lde btsan who built bSam yas and promulgated the foundation charter of Buddhism with the famous ordinance deposited in that temple. No conclusion can be reached from the materials here collected as regards the pundits invited from India, though, as I have shown elsewhere (TPS, p. 87) it can hardly be doubted that Padmasambhava really existed and that the tradition concerning Nam mk'a' sñiṅ po and other old Tibetan masters strictly connected with the Chinese *ch'an* doctrines are fully confirmed. Nothing can be stated as regards Śīlavarman who wrote the story of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet: we cannot say that this Śīlavarman is the same as Kamalaśīla, but neither can we deny it. On the other hand it can hardly be doubted that this Buddhism, which was accepted by the court and made by an order more or less compulsory to the aristocracy, was strictly opposed by Bon po communities and the aristocracy itself which, even for political reasons, was inclined to follow the aboriginal cults and to resist the new religion supported by the ruling clan. Their reaction to the policy of the kings was favoured by the quarrels between the family of the king and those of their wives. It is in fact possible that one of the chief reasons for the support given by K'ri sroṅ lde btsan to the new religion is to be found just in political reasons. I have shown elsewhere (*On the validity* etc., p. 311, n. 9) that all the Tibetan kings succeeded their fathers when they reached the thirteenth year of age. This rule, which is based on Bon po ideas, meant as a consequence that either the king had to leave the power in the hands of his son, as was the case with Sroṅ btsan sgam po who resumed it again, or to see their own lives endangered. With K'ri sroṅ lde btsan the things change: Mu ne btsan po assumed power when he was 25 years old, even though, if we are to believe BZ, his father was still alive,

and gone into retirement to carry out the instructions of Padma-sambhava (so the tradition goes) or, as I should rather think, forcibly compelled to leave the government in the hands of his son. Anyhow the funeral eulogium of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan does not contain anything Buddhist; on the other hand it is expressed in Bon po terms just as are also Bon po are the rites performed to ratify the pact between China and Tibet at the times of Ral pa can. All this shows that though Buddhist temples were built, books translated and pundits and *ācāryas* invited from India, the state-ceremonies were still conducted according to the Bon po traditions which made the Bon po priests still powerful and anxious to regain what they had lost: as they attempted to do at the times of gLaṅ dar ma.

NOTES

1) ạP'yoṅ rgyas and its tombs is mentioned in PTY, Transl. TOUSSAINT, p. 373 Padmasambhava buried there some *gter ma*. WASSILIEV, *Geografia Tibeta*, p. 34, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 1877*, p. 117, "Chukyà Phutang". The chronicles of the rulers of ạP'yoṅ rgyas have been translated by me in TPS.

2) The guide of Kun mk'yen brtse (Kun gzigs mk'yen brtsei dbaṅ) has been translated and commented upon by Doctor A. FERRARI in a book which will be out shortly. Kun mk'yen brtse was a Sa skya pa lama who lived in the 19th century. He died in the year 1885. I possess a biography of him called *rJe btsụn bla ma t'ams cad mk'yen ciṅ gzigs pa ạJam dbyaṅs mk'yen brtsei dbaṅ po Kun dga' bstan pai rgyal mts'an dpal bzaṅ poi rnam t'ar mdor bsdus pa ṅo mts'ar u dum ba rai dga' ts'al.* The name of the guide is *dBus gTsaṅ rten rags rims gyis mts'an byaṅ mdor bsdus dad pai sa bon.*

3) Reference to this tomb is also made by the CTS; see BUSHELL, *Early History of Tibet*, JRAS, vol. XII, 1880, p. 446, where it is said that this statue was below the mausoleum of the king.

4) *Raṅ ạbyuṅ rdo rje* was a lama of Tshurbu monastery, sTod luṅ mTs'ur p'u of the Kar ma pa sect, to the N.W. of Lhasa. He lived in the XVIIIth century and is considered as one of the most learned lamas of the sect.

5) Because the king disappeared inside the statue of sPyan ras gzigs, as we are told by the Chronicles. The partitions, *reu mig*, referred to below, are nine.

6) The *dKar cag* of mGar is often quoted by the Tibetan historical works; it cannot be the same as the *bSam yas ka ts'igs*, of which mention is made in the GR, p. 92 *b*, LAUFER, *Bruža Sprache*, reprint, p. 18. Cfr. TPS, p. 154.

7) On these kings see the summary of the tradition given by PETECH, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Chap. II, *The twenty-seven mythical kings*. With these tombs and the prebuddhistic funeral rites I have dealt in TPS, p. 734.

8) But according to GR, p. 26 *a*, the tomb of Gri gum btsan po and of his son sPu de guṅ rgyal was *gya' daṅ spaṅs la* viz. in slates and meadows.

9) Las skyes seems to be the same as Ṅar la skyes of TH, p. 125.

10) Ziṅ lde is the first of the eight lDe, according to the same lists; see PETECH, op. cit., p. 27; GR adds the tombs of the three bTsan placed in Gaṅs dkar rtse.

11) Someting is here missing; in fact according to GR, p. 27 *a*, aDar taṅ in ạP'yiṅ is the place where Lha t'o t'o ri was buried; his tomb was built in his own place; the name of the place is Dar t'aṅ in P'yiṅ; there the mound looks like a felt tent (*sbra*) *sa p'ud sbra ạdra*; cfr. following note (*brdal* for *sbra*).

12) But in GR, p. 27 *a*; *de yaṅ ạp'ul* (mistake for *yod*) *med sa p'ud brdal ạdra*; in GR, p. 27, wrongly Don ạk'or. These are some of the many cases which show

how many readings of GR are uncertain, and how often old words, being no more understood, are replaced by new expressions.

13) *bKa' t'an sde lna*, p. 45, ạBron gñan was buried in Žan p'u; so also GR, p. 27 *b*; in this text the name of the tomb is gSon c'as zlum po; perhaps the tomb was circular. The place Žan mda' is on the left of the ạP'yon rgyas c'u between the valley of Cho and that of Shu in front of the ruins of T'an. On the habit of burying people with the bTsan po see BUSHELL, op. cit., p. 444 and below.

14) Even now the plain under the castle of ạP'yon rgyas is called ạP'yon mda'.

15) On this name *sMug* see my article on the *Validity of Tibetan Historical tradition* in « India Antiqua », p. 311, n. 3. We know from the Chinese sources that the Tibetans used in mourning to put black colour on their faces and to wear black clothes. On the rMu see TPS, p. 713 ff.

16) See TPS, p. 727.

17) Doubtful: *sa p'rug rñid p'ur bcug nas.*

18) This tradition is based upon the idea that the tomb so built represents a cosmos made out of the essence of the various parts of the earth; it therefore synthetizes the universe in its essential elements. Parallel with this physical structure runs the spiritual one which is represented by five chapels corresponding to the five mystic families expressing the intricacies of the psychic forces at play in the universe. So also VDL, p. 39 *b*.

19) Or Mu rug.

20) This rules out the doubts expressed by the editors of TH that the bodies of the kings might have been cremated. See below p. 8.

21) dP'a bo gtsug lag p'ren ba, also called Don grub, is the author of the *C'os ạbyun mk'as pai dga' ston*, a complete history of Buddhism in India and Tibet. The work is divided into 17 chapters and is now extreemely rare even in Tibet. It was printed in Lho brag gŽi k'a and was completed in the year *šin byi*, 1564, when the author was sixty in the monastery of Sans rgyas mi ạgyur lhun grub. The prince who patronized the writer was bSod nams rab brtan of Lha rgya ri TPS, 59, 66, 649. The dates of the author according to Sum pa mk'an po - Candra Das are: 1503-1565.

22) This is evidently a misprint for ạP'yin p'u, the name we already met in other records and still used in the country.

23) *mdad* and *ldem* have the same meaning of tumulus, mound.

24) Much better PT: " the wall surroundig it ".

25) *ạp'yin pai rin k'an* cfr. TH, PT.

26) *On the Validity of Tibetan historical tradition*, « India antiqua », p. 309.

27) The identification of Mu tig btsan po with Sad na legs is accepted by KT which calls Sad na legs: Mu tig or mJin yon mu tig KT, *k'a*, p. 28 *b*, p. 41 *b*.

28) According to PT, p. 126 *a*, he was born one year aften Mu tig btsan po who, on the other hand, was born one year after Mu ne btsan po. The latter was born when his father was 35 (in the year water [for: wood]) dragon, viz. 776. But if only the last element of the cyclic indication is maintained, as it seems to be the rule in the ancient Tibetan records (see article quoted p. 317) (wood) tiger cannot be but 774.

the birth year of Mu tig then being 775 and that of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, a year of dragon, as stated by PT, 776. So Grags pa rgyal mts'an is right when he states that Mu ne ascended the throne at 25, but wrong when he writes the K'ri lde died at 54. At p. 127 *b* in fact the same author says that he passed away in the year fire female-bird 817; this date corresponds, but not the year of his age. So it seems that the sources have attributed to him a longer life than he actually had. This is why ạP'ags pa, realizing the mistake, shifted his birth back to the year water-horse 762.

29) In the texts we find either sKar c'uṅ or ạKar c'uṅ. KT, *pK'a*, p. 21 *a*: sKar c'uṅ; BUSTON (Obermiller), p. 196: *sKar c'uṅ rgya sde*; PT, p. 128: *dkar c'uṅ*; VDL, p. 41*a*: *rGyal sde dkar c'uṅ* (in the Chronicles of Ladakh: *rGya sde*): *rgyal sde* implies that is was a royal property. On the inscription of this place see below.

30) These receptacles, *rten*, are three kinds: *sku, gsuṅ, t'ugs*, viz.: of body i. e. images: words i. e. books; spirit i. e. temples and *mc'od rten*.

31) Kri rtse is mentioned in TH, pp. 39-40.

32) I do not think that any relation exists between the palace mentioned in that document and Yam bu lha k'aṅ (which is the older form, not Yum bu lha k'aṅ) the palace of Lha t'o t'o ri in Yarlung.

33) See A. FERRARI, *Arthaviniścaya*, « Atti R. Accademia d'Italia, Classe scienze morali e storiche », serie VII, vol. IV, fasc. 13, p. 538 ff. Also LAUFER identified K'ri lde sroṅ btsan with Ral pa can; HACKIN, *Formulaire*, p. 70, recognized that the two are different. Also the dKar cag of bSam yas quoted below, n. 85, calls Ral pa can: K'ri lde sroṅ btsan, p. 21 *a*, while his father is called Sad na legs mjiṅ yon, p. 26 *b*.

34) The monastery of mTs'ur bu, ạTs'ur bu, mTs'ur p'u (see note 4) was founded by Dus gsum mk'yen a little before his death (1193). DT, *na*, p. 34 *a*. According to Sum pa mk'an po, S. C. Das, this date was 1187. No mention of lCaṅ bu is known to me in literary sources; but in DT, *ña*, p. 34, one lCaṅ maṅ p'u pa is recorded. No mention of this place nor of the inscription I found in the guide of this monastery: *gNas c'en po 'og min ạTs'ur bui gnas yig bstod pa mdor bdus* by dKon mc'og ạp'aṅs, nor in *'Og min mTs'ur p'ui mdoi gan dbo lai mc'od k'aṅ rnams kyi gtsos gnas rten k'ag gi gnas yig dkar c'ag dad pai pad moi ạbyed pai ñiṅ byed* by the fifteenth Karmapa.

35) *Three ancient Inscriptions from Tibet*, JRASB, vol. XV, 1949, p. 45 ff.

36) sTags bžaṅ ña sto is unknown to me. The usual spelling of this clan in the historical records is Ts'e spoṅ not Ts'es poṅ. In TH both forms are found.

37) The title lha sras "divine son" corresponds to Chinese 天子 scr. Deva-putra. The Tibetan kings may have taken it either from Khotan (cfr. also T. BURROW, *A translation of the Kharoṣṭhi docum. from Chin. Turkestan*, pp. 65, 143 etc.; cfr. U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *'Aksum e i quattro re del mondo*, « Annali Lateranensi », XII, 1948, p. 147 f.) or from the Chinese, adding it to the original title btsan po. The introduction of the new title was facilitated by the fact that they claimed a divine descent; cfr. the legend of O lde spu rgyal.

38) *ạp'rul gyi lha* is a title which appears in ancient times. In the Karchung inscription it is attributed to Sroṅ btsan sgam po and to K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (cfr. Lhasa

edict, JRAS, 1911, p. 418). We find: *ạp'rul gyi lha, lha ạp'rul* (Chonghie) and *ạp'rul* only; *Lha ạp'rul* " divine emanation ", *ạp'rul*, follows the name of the king. This title refers to the divine origin of the lineage which came down from heaven; see inscription of Chonghie: on O lde spu rgyal, who is called in the Lhasa pillar ạP'rul gyi lha, cfr. JRAS, 1909, p. 948; *ạp'rul* is a technical term of the Bon po. It indicated, according to their doctrine, a class of the Bon po saints, *ạp'rul gšen*. The word was kept even after the conversion to Buddhism on account of its being a technical term in Buddhist dogmatics; the *nirmāṇa*-body of the Buddha, *sprul sku*, could represent the counterpart of the aboriginal views and support the claims of the Tibetan kings of being of heavenly descent.

39) *sku yon du bsṅos*. This refers to the mahāyānic theory according to which the results of a good action are devolved to the spiritual benefit of others so that the merit of it may fall upon them. On *pariṇāmanā* see HAR DAYAL, *The bodhisattva-doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 188 ff. So the gift, though made by sTag bzaṅ ña sto, was as if it had been made by the king himself.

40) I disagree with Mr. Richardson as regards the interpretation of this passage: *mjug la gdags*. I find that the question of name *miṅ, mts'an btags*, is here out of place, since it has been said already that the king had given to lCaṅ bu its name; *mjug la gdags* in my opinion means that lCaṅ bu, with only four monks was to be considered as a dependence of On caṅ do which was much bigger, as suggested by the place its description is given in GR and generally in all historical records. That is why a copy of this ordinance as well as of the list of the things beloging to the chapel was given to the authorities of On caṅ do. In other words lCaṅ bu was a dependency (*lag*) of that temple which was built to fulfill the vow of the king; *t'ugs dam* occour in the sentence "*t'ugs dam rdsogs pai p'yr*" in many inscriptions of Ghyantse and elsewhere, being referred to religious works brought to an end according to the pious wishes of a person. On caṅ do is called *t'ugs dam u šaṅ do* in GR, p. 94 *b*.

41) The chapel of On caṅ do referred to in the inscription is dPe med bkra šis dge p'el.

42) *lha ris* cannot be " divine race " as suggested by Mr. Richardson. *Lha ris* corresponds to the later espression *lha sde* opposed to *mi sde* in the sense of religious community or state, *ris* being territory, part, therefore a part assigned to gods, the land belongig to the temple. Lha ris c'en po refers in my opinion to On caṅ do, as being the higher authority on the chapel of lCaṅ. Mr. H. E. Richardson thinks that the Karchung inscription contradicts to such an interpretation of *lha ris*. In that inscription it is written, ll. 49-50, *dkon mc'og gsum gyi rkyen bcad pai rnams kyaṅ ma dma's ma žig pai c'os su lha ris k'yi kyim yig gi mgo nan las ạbyuṅ pa bžin du c'os mdsad do*, which he translated: « Let them in future act according to the writings of the Household of the Divine Race, which have been since the beginning », but I think that it should be interpreted as follows « even for the future it should be done as it derives from what has been for the first time stated in the regulations of the divine estate as regards the law that the property of the three jewels should never be lessened, never be forsaken ».

43) *mnan* is perhaps a lay official, something corresponding to the modern *p'yag mdsod* but in old times a government official, because the temples were property of the kings: cfr. the temple of Karchung called *rGyal sde*.

44) *skuṅ mk'ar* old spelling for sku mk'ar: cfr. TH, p. 50, n. 7. This means that even at the times of Ral pa can the castle of aP'yiṅ was held in high esteem. The archives of the official documents were preserved in it; another copy was put in "*bkai sar*", the place of the council; this was most probably the Council-Hall, the office or the Chancellery of the officers *bka' la gtogs pa*.

45) We shall find this expression *pr'a men sgrom bu* even in other records; *p'ra men* (*ap ra men*) is not in the dictionaries, but comparing the list of the ornaments peculiar of the various officials as given in STS: *she she*, gold, silver with gold ornaments, silver etc. with a similar list contained in some Tun Huang document referred to by Stein, BEFEO, 1941, fasc. 2, p. 346, n. 2, it appears that *p'ra men* (both words meaning ornament, ornated) corresponds to silver-gilt, silver ornated with gold [金塗銀, 金飾銀] of the Chinese sources.

46) We must remember that in *Formulaire*, p. 36 ed. (HACKIN) he is called K'ri gtsug lde btsan.

47) If this work is the GR, as is likely since we do not know of any other Sa skya pa historical work written in this period, and because its theory as regards bDeṅ k'ri is identical with that of GR, this GR must have been written, as stated in TPS, p. 141, in the year 1508.

48) BUSHELL, op. cit.

49) In the GR, p. 93 *b*, the story is different: the king does not entrust the kingdom to his son but one of his wives. Žuṅ mk'ar is a locality along the Tsangpo, a few miles to the W of bSam yas: there are five *mc'od rten* and the place is famous because there K'ri sroṅ lde btsan went to meet Padmasambhava. PTY, TOUSSAINT, p. 248. The BZ is a chronicle of bSam yas (*bSam yas kyi lo rgyus*; so *Vai ḍur ya gya' sel*, pp. 12 *b*-13, Derge edition). It is said to be another name for the *bKa' tsig yi ge žib mo*. The sBa bžed is said to have circulated in two different redactions. It contained originally the *bka' c'ems*, the will, of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan which was expounded in two different ways, the one according to sBa gSal snaṅ and the other according to to sBa san ši; later it has been completed up to the times of Atiśa and the new introduction of the Law. On account of its last retouchings, the text has lost much of its importance, but, as a careful study of its contents suggests, it still contains some interesting details. I possess a manuscript copy of the book, which was kindly presented me by His Excellency Surkhang Shape.

50) PETECH, op. cit., p. 76.

51) The following passage corresponds to the section of *Bodhimör* translated SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, pp. 358 ff. But the mention of the Chinese history *žu t'u ban c'an* is missing. So also the passage concerning the events following the treatise between China and Tibet at the time of Ral pa can, from: « if, without taking into consideration », up to: « the relations between China and Tibet were broken »; so also the passage concerning the Chinese officers who

escorted Gyan šiṅ koṅ jo. Minor differences can be found comparing my translation with that of Schimdt.

52) See TPS, p. 139 and *Validity* etc., p. 308, n. 4.

53) Evidently a mistake for T'ai tsung. T'ai tsung ruled from 618 to 626, while the Tibetan king passed away in 649.

54) T'u lu hun, as we shall see, is a mistake for T'u yu hun. On this people the last data are to be found in PETECH, *Alcuni nomi geografici sul "La-dvags-rgyal-rabs"*, RSO, XXII, p. 82 and THOMAS, *Nam*. As to the Hor ser, the Yellow Hor, cfr. LAUFER, TP, vol. 9, p. 450.

55) Zuṅ cu is the same as Zoṅ cu of TH, p. 39, viz. Sungchou (Sung P'an) of TS. In the mss. copy: Zuṅ ciu.

56) See below.

57) Mss.: *gTsoṅ k'ai*, viz. Kö kö nor in gTsoṅ k'a.

58) This is of course mGar stoṅ brtsan called in Chinese sources Lu Tung tsan: the translator seems therefore to have failed to identify under the Chinese transcription the original Tibetan name of the famous minister.

59) Viz. Wen ch'eng, in TH Mun ch'aṅ. In mss. 'Un šiṅ.

60) Viz. 650: there is a difference of one year with TH.

61) As I said, there is a disagreement between this text which is generally followed by the Tibetan historians and TH; in fact the man who died was the *dar rgyal* Maṅ po rje who is said to have been the leader of the Tibetan army. This *dar rgyal maṅ po rje* is the 'A ža prince, also said ạBon 'A ža: after his death we find once more a ạBon dar rgyal K'ri zuṅ, and then bTsan zuṅ.

62) Mss. sÑa btsan ldem bu viz. bTsaṅ sña ldom bu of TH, p. 33 ff.

63) Hoang ho.

64) Ms. Li kyiṅ. This is Li Ching yuan of TS. BUSHELL, op. cit., p. 449, Hen c'en may be Hsien prince of Chou who was defeated by the Tibetans, BUSHELL, p. 449.

65) Note the different spelling if the person is the same.

66) Chung Tsung.

67) Chin Ch'eng, BUSHELL, op. cit., p. 456.

68) Ža ya t'ai byaṅ kun, gYaṅ gui han cannot be identified with any of the Chinese officers known to me.

69) Gha probably Ga-cu of TH Ho-chou; see T.W. THOMAS, *Nam*, p. 11 etc.

70) Viz. the emperor of China and the Tibetan bTsan po.

71) Žaṅ rgya lha ts'a gnaṅ viz. rGyal ts'an lha snaṅ, see p. 60.

72) Ceu is the same as Kiṅ ši of TH, p. 153, the capital of China, Ching chi taken by the Tibetans in 763; sMan rtse is for sMan tse.

73) Unknown.

74) Viz. T'ai tsung of the Sung 976-998.

75) In TPS I could not identify this Rin c'en grags pa. He is a Kuo shih Guśri according to GR and only a Bla ma according to DT: but now I think that he should be identified with the Nien chen ch'ih la shih-ssu of *Yüan shih*; Rin c'en grags who was elected Ti shih in the year 1330, TPS, p. 15.

76) Petech, op. cit., p. 72.

77) Doubtful; *gya mu* perhaps corresponds to *gya gyu*.

78) *k'a kyoṅ* for *kyoṅ k'a*. The two Tibets of line 34 are greater and smaller Tibet.

79) If line 41: U gu ru contains the name of the Uigurs, as it seems almost certain, the inscription would prove that the Dru gu and the Uigurs are two different peoples (THOMAS, JRAS, 1931, on the pp. 807-831) PETECH, *Nomi geografici*, p. 84.

80) Yellow Hor see n. 54. In this line *k'oṅ* in for *k'on* (*ạk'on*) as before.

81) U gur. So the inscription: but the initial « U », is subscribed the consonant being lost. In a document quoted by Stein TP, vol. XXXV, p. 25, n. 4, their name in Ho yo hor.

82) *Literary texts*, pp. 272 ff.

83) See f. i. *K'a*, p. 44 ff.

84) Even this inscription has been meanwhile edited by Mr. H. E. Richardson, art. quoted from a copy taken by the late Sir Charles Bell.

85) The date of the foundation of bSam yas is uncertain. As stated by LAUFER, *Bruža Sprache*, p. 33, n. 4, according to Buston the building of bSam yas was begun in the year fire-hare 787 and was finished in the year earth-hare 799 viz. it took 12 years to be completed. According to Saγang Sečen it started from 811 to 823. PTY, Toussaint, p. 258, states that the work was begun in the year earth-tiger and completed in five years from the year earth-tiger to that of the horse. This year earth-tiger cannot be 738 which is chronologically impossible; it should be 798; the year of the horse is then 802. GR, p. 90 *a*, followed by PT, p. 89, states that the work was started in the year of the hare and finished in one cycle. This year of the hare can only be 787. The *Deb t'er dmar po*, p. 26, says that bSam yas was founded when the king was 22 years old, in the year earth-hare 799, being completed in the year iron-hare viz. 809. *Vaiḍurya dkar po* (Csoma) gives as its date 751. These dates show once more how uncertain is the Tibetan chronology, which is subject to many mistakes on account of the improper use of the cyclic system of time calculation. I have on the other hand shown in the article already quoted that these mistakes can, in most cases, be easily corrected taking in consideration only the last of the two terms, denoting a year, the difference, as a rule, being of only twelve years, viz. of one cycle. But in this case all the dates proposed by the different historians are out of question, being ruled out by the date of the passing away of the king in the year 797. So the year of the sheep referred to in the document quoted by PT seems to be the only acceptable; it is the year 791. Concerning bSam yas there is a big dKar cag called *Rab ạbyams pa dag pai žiṅ gi yon tan kun ts'aṅ dpal lugs gsum mi ạgyur lhun gyis grub pai gtsug lag k'aṅ rten daṅ brten par bcas pa legs gsoi sri žu ji ltar bsgrubs pai ts'ul gyi k'yad par brjod pai dkar c'ag skal bzaṅ dad pai sgo ạbyed ṅo mts'ar rgya mts'oi ldeu mig*.

86) Ra sa is the old name for the valley of Lhasa. Brag mar, now Brag dmar is a place a few miles to the north of bSam yas, but evidently it was the name given to the country near this monastery, which is usually called Brag dmar lhun gyis grub gtsug lag k'aṅ. In Brag dmar a small chapel, though quite modern, is even now

shown to pilgrims as the place where K'ri sroṅ lde btsan was born. Near by there are many ruins. This place is often referred to in TH. It was the winter residence of the Kings being repaired from the N. and E. winds.

87) This refers, as we gather from PT, to the original deposited in the temple.

88) The text says *šog bu* " paper " but this most probably was a *šog ril, dril* a roll as most of the ancient *gter ma* are said to have been. On these *Šog dril, ril*, see LAUFER, *Der Roman einer Tibet. Koenigin*, p. 3, S. CH. DAS, JRASB, 1904, vol. 74, p. 1; TUCCI, *Tibetan Book-covers* in « Art and Thought », p. 63.

89) *pan pun k'yer pai dpe ts'ul yod pa nas.*

90) See above, n. 85, *dp'yid* for *dpyid.*

91) aP'rul snaṅ is the cathedral of Lhasa; its description besides the known books on Lhasa f. i. WADDELL, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, p. 363 ff., is to be found in the guide-book which was translated by WADDELL, JRASB, 1895, p. 259, and by GRÜNWEDEL, *Sitzb. der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissen. Philos.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, 14 Abh.

92) Ra mo c'e is equally in Lhasa. Both temples are certainly old, though in my opinion, not so old as tradition would make us believe. rGya gtags « founded by the Chinese » is the name given to the Ra mo c'e chapel because it was built by the Chinese wife of Sroṅ btsan sgam po. It is a hint that the tradition contained in GR and in other chronicles is well established.

93) Mi ldog k'ams gsum is also in Brag dmar district, as it can be gathered from the list of the monasteries named at the end of the edict.

94) *p'yag sbal* means regularly "prison", but it is evident that this meaning is here out of place; it should be " secret place " a place where nobody is allowed, " archive ".

95) Braṅ ti śri la var ma viz. śilavarman of Braṅ ti. Braṅ ti may be a name of place; one is tempeed to discover under this name that of Kamalaśīla, who was invited by K'ri sroṅ lde btsan and whose debates with the Chinese Ha šan are mentioned with great details by all Tibetan historians.

96) *P'ra myen, ạp'ra myen*; see above n. 45; PT, p. 110 *a*: " written with *p'ra myen* and put in a golden box"; at p. 128 *b*: " written in gold and put in a box of ạp'ra myen"; cfr. p. 107 *a*: "written in gold on a blue paper".

97) Viz. Sroṅ btsan sgam po.

98) On Pe har see below.

99) *bur ạdums.*

100) *spyan sṅa* honorific title.

101) *P'yag sbrid (ạp'ri ba): p'yag* is here used because this calamity befell upon the king.

102) *gzod bzaṅ; gzod* is " moment ", " situation of time ".

103) *sgroms*; cfr. *sgro.*

104) *sku la dmar yaṅ dogs.*

105) *god*: note the technical use of *dogs* "to bind something with something bad" with the help of magic operations.

106) *avyākṛta* viz. those which do not cause any result, as which are beyond any moral responsability, cfr. the translation of the *Abhidharmakośa* by LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, index, s. v.

107) On these elements see MVP, XXXIV, *Daśapāramitā*, VII, *Daśabalāni*, VIII, *Catvāri Vaiśāradyāni*, IX, *Aṣṭadaśāveṇikadharmāḥ*, X, *Dvātrimśat tathāgatasya mahākaruṇāḥ*, XIII, *Catvaraḥ pratisamvidaḥ*. On 37 *bodhipakṣa* see *Mahāyānasutrālaṅkāra*, ed. LÉVI, XX-XXI, 16, p. 291.

108) *nods*.

109) *ạbags*, reading doubtful.

110) my copy cannot be read.

111) As before *nods*.

112) *mgo nan la*.

113) Or: disease; cfr. *rño*. For this story cfr. GR, p. 84 *b*.

114) *nam žar ạdi bžin du myi mdsad re*: on this meaning of *re* cfr. *re kan, re skan* in TH, "never" « employé avec une première négative pour affirmer », p. 203.

115) Doubtful.

116) In the *rdo riṅ* once *mc'os gnas* and another time: *mc'od gnas*. Mr. Richardson understands « continuing according to the ordinance for religious services given by us ». But *mc'od gnas* corresponds also to "*purohita*", chaplain. Cfr. GR, pp. 93 *b*, 94 *a*, *ka ma la śi la la sogs pai mc'od gnas rnams la žabs tog byas*.

117) THOMAS, *Literary Texts*, I, p. 301 ff. TUCCI, TPS, p. 735.

118) *Loan words*, n. 14, p. 451.

119) See TPS, p. 736.

120) Mu rug btsan po.

121) On the T'e, T'eu raṅ, a claso of gods, see TPS, p. 719.

122) HAN JU LIN in *Studia Serica, Journal of the Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute*, Cheng tu, vol. I, pp. 105 ff., BEFEO, 1941, fasc. 2, p. 348.

123) THOMAS, *Nam*, pp. 42, 43.

124) mC'ims p'u is a cave with a small monastery, rather a hermitage, to the N. E. of bSam yas, high up in a gorge which can be reached in three hours from that place. In the cave a small Lha k'aṅ is built which belongs to the rÑiṅ ma pas. Now only a few nuns live in it. mC'ims is the name of all the country bordering Brag dmar in which bSam yas is built, Brag dmar bsam yas as we read in the inscriptions. mC'ims p'u was one of the five temples founded by K'ri lde gtsug, the father of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan: Lhasa mk'ar brag, Brag (on this PT, p. 71 *a*) dmar mGrin bzaṅ, mC'ims p'u Nam ral, Brag dmar Ke ru, Mas goṅ gi gnas. So PT, p. 71, but at p. 126, reproducing the text of the sKar c'uṅ monastery he omits mC'ims p'u and instead of Ke ru he has K'va ạc'uṅ, Kva c'ur on which see above. The small temple of Ke ru still exists, though completely renewed: in its main hall there is an image of Jo bo Śākyamuni surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas and by the two usual *c'os skyoṅ* Acala and Hayagrīva. The plan of the temple is old, but its images are not older than the 17th century. This temple is to be found in the 'On valley, almost opposite to Choding. But Kwa c'ur was in Brag dmar: the two valleys Brag dmar and 'On are quite distinct

even in old times. mGrin bzaṅ is the birth place of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan about six miles to the North of bSam yas; now called Brag mar only; there are extensive ruins and a modern small temple. On the *ri k'rod* of mC'ims p'u there is a guide-book *dPal gyi bsam yas mc'ims p'u gnas bstod gtam dbyaṅs sñan lbai rṅa c'en* by Rigs ạdsin c'en po ạJigs med gliṅ pa. mC'ims p'u, as a name of clan, is frequently quoted in the old documents: TH, p. 84, mC'ims yul; p. 88, Klu rgyal ṅan mo mts'o, mC'ims za, wife of ạBro mñen lde ru; p. 132, minister rGyal zigs šu ten, mC'ims žaṅ; cfr., p. 153, minister of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan. Also in the Lhasa inscriptions, mC'ims žaṅ rgyal bžer koṅ ñe btsan LAUFER, *Bird Divination*, p. 74. mC'ims p'u is referred to often in PTY, Toussaint transl., p. 234, mC'ims p'u mountain and valley. In its territory there was mC'ims p'u bregu dgeu, ibid. p. 258; this was a hermitage. Cfr. mC'ims p'u dge goṅ in the biography of Ye šes mts'o rgyal, p. 12 *a*.

As can be seen from the name of one of the four wives of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan the clan is frequently called mC'ims rgyal.

125) *coṅ* is from Chinese chung LAUFER, *Loan Words*, n. 271.

126) *staṅs dpyal*, is honorific; *dbyaṅs yan lag bcu drug* are the 60 attributes of the voice of the Buddha which are registered in MVP, XX.

127) In the mss. chapter 63; in the Lhasa editon Chapter 59.

128) Mss.: *ru lu ts'aṅs pai dbyaṅs kyi ạdren staṅs glaṅs*; Lhasa ed.: *ạdren rta blaṅs nas*; *ru lu* is a formula used in tantric liturgies against devils.

129) Mss.: *Yeṅs la ạbor*, Lhasa ed. *yeṅs su bcug pas*.

130) On K'ra abrug there is a guide-book: *dPal mi ạgyur lhun gyis grub pai gan dbo la gsum gyi naṅ ts'aṅ gyo ru k'ra ạbrug gtsug lag k'aṅ gi gnas bšad dad pai sgo byed* by Ts'ul k'rims c'os ạbyor.

APPENDIX

TIBETAN TEXTS

INSCRIPTIONS AND EDICTS

I

Inscription of mTs'ur p'u (p. 16)*

༄༅། །ཞང་ཆོས་པོང་སྟག་བཟང་ཉ་སྟོས།
སྟོད་ཀྱི་ལྷུང་བུར། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྩིགས་
པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། །དོ་རིངས་ལ་བྲི་བར་། ༔ བཙན ༔
པོའི་བཀའས་གནང་སྟེ་བྲིས་པའ། ༔ །
༄༅། །བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྲས་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ།
དམ་པའི་ཆོས་བརྟེས་ནས། །གདུང་རབས༔
སུ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གདང་ཞིང་མཛད་པར༔
ཆོས་གཙིགས་དང་། བཀའ་ལུང་སྩལད་པ
ལས་འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན། ཞང་ཆོས་པོང་ཉ་སྟོས།
དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཉམས་སུ་བླངས། བཙན༔
པོ་ལྷ་སྲས། ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ་བརྩན་འཕྲུལ་ཀྱི་
བཀའ་དྲིན། ཞང་ཉ་སྟོ་ལ་ཆེར་སྩལད་པས་
བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེན་པོ་བསམ་པའི་ཕྱིར་། །
བཙན་པོ་སྐུ་ཡོན་དུ་བསྔོས་ཏེ། སྨོན་ལམ༔

* Tibetan script has been used for the inscriptions still existing and transcription for those taken from PT.

རྒྱ་ཆེར་བཏབ་ནས། སྲོད་ལྗུངས་ཀྱི་ལྗུང་བྱུར༔
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྩིགས་སྟེ། དཀོན་
མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཞུགས། དགེ
སློང་བཞི་གནས་པར་སྤྲར་ནས། རྒྱུན་ཀྱི་
བྲན་དངཞིང་འབྲོག་དང་། ལྷ་ཆ་དང་། ནོར་རྫས
དང་། རྐང་འགྲོས་ལས་སྩོགས་པ་། ཚང་བར༔
བཅད་དེ། །བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ་བཙན་
གྱི་སྐུ་ཡོན་རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད་པར་བྱེད་དོ། །
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འདིའི་མཚན་ཡང་། །
བཙན་པོའི་བཀའ་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཏགས་སྟེ།
འོན་ཅང་དོའི་ཐུགས་དམ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་
ཁང་ཆེན་པོའི་མཇུག་ལ་གདགས་ཤིང་།
ཆིས་ཀྱང་། ཀླ་ནས་མཛོད་པར། །བཀའས་
གནང་། །ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་འབངས་དང་། དཀོར་
ལ། ཁྲལ་སྐྱི་དབབ་པ་དང་། །ཁྲ་དང་། ཆད་ཀ༔
སྐྱི་བཞེས་པ་ལས་སྩོགས་པ་ཡང་། །ལྷ་རིས༔
ཆེན་པོའི་ཐང་དུ། །བཀའས་གནང་ངོ་། །
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འདིའི་རྒྱུན་རིས་བསྐྱོ་ཞིང་

སྲིད་པ་ཡང་། །ཞང་ཉ་སྟོས། །ཇི་ལྷར་བྲུས་ཤྀང་།
བསྟོས་པ་བཞིན་བརྩན་བར། བཀའས་གནངོ།
།ནམ་ཞིག་ན། །ཞང་ཉ་སྟོ་ལ་། བྲུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་ཡོང༔
སྲིད་པ་ཞིག་དུ་གྱུར་ན། །ཁོལ་ཡུལ་ལས་སྟོགས་
པ་དབང་ངོ་ཚོག། །ཀླར་ཡང་སྲི་བཞེས།
གྱང་སྲི་སྲིན་བར། །གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་འདོ་ཀྱེན།
དུ་བསྟན་པར། །བཀའས་གནང་ངོ། [1]
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཀྱེན་བཅད་པའི་དཀར༔
ཅག་དང་། བསྟོས་ཡིག་ཀླ་དཔེ་ནི། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་
འདའས་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འདུན་སར་བཞག། །
འོག་དཔེ་ནི། འོན་ཅང་དོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི༔
གནས་བརྟན་དང་། མངན་ལ་སྦྱལད་། དཔེ༔
དེ་དང་འདྲ་བ་གཅིག་ནི། །གཙུག་ལག་ཁང༔
འདིར་གཞག་པར། བཀའས་གནང་ངོ་། [1]
༄། །ཞང་ཆེས་པོང་
གསས་སྟོའི་བྲུ་
ཚེ། གཙོགས༔
གནང་བའི་ཀླ་

1) Richardson དོ.

དཔེ་ནི། ཕྱིང་བ
འི་སྐུན་མཁར་
ན། གཙོགས༔
ཆེན་པོ་གཞན་གྱི་
གླ་ལ་བཞག། དེ་
དང་འདྲ་བ་རྣམ༔
གཅིག་ནི། གཙོགས་
གཞན་གྱི་གླ་ལ་
བཀའི་སར་བཞག༔
།གཙོགས་ཀྱི་
འོག་དཔེ་འཕྲ༔
མེན་གྱི་སྒྲོམ་བུ༔
ནི། གཙུག་ལག༔
ཁང་འདྲིའི་མཛོད་
དུ་གཞག་པར།
བཀའས་གནང་
ངོ། །
བཀྲ་ཤིས།

II

The inscription on the *rdo riṅ* near the tomb of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan (p. 36)

༄༅། །བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྲས། །འོ་ལྡེ་སྤུ་རྒྱལ། །གནམ་གྱི་
ལྷ་ལས་མིའི་རྗེར་གཤེགས་པ། །ཆོས་ལུགས་བཟང་
པོ་ནི་གཞན་གཙུག་མི་འགྱུར། །མངའ་ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་ནམ་ཞར
ཀྱང་བྲིན་མི་ཉམ་སྟེ། །ཆབ་སྲིད་ནི་ད་ཕྱིར་ཞིང་ཆེ། དབུ་རྨོག་
ནི་ཡུན་དུ་བརྟན་པའི། །གཡུང་དྲུང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་པོ་
བཞིན་དུ། །ལྷ་སྲས་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་སྲོང་བརྩན་སྐུའི་རྗེ་
མཛད་པ། །ལྷའི་ལུགས་དང་འཐུན་པར་ནི་མངའ་ཐང་ནི་ཆེན[པོ]
གནམ་གྱི་ཆོས་དང་མཚུངས་པར་ནི། བཀའ་བརྟན་ཏེ་
ཐུགས་སྐམ་པོའ་རླབས་དང་། །བཀའ་ལུང་བཟང་པོའི་
ལུགས་ཀྱིས། །ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་སུ་ལེགས་དང་། ཆབ་སྲིད་ཆེ
བའི་ཚུལ། ནམ་དུ་ཡང་། མི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་ཤེས་པར། །མདོ་
ཙམ་ཞིག་རྡོ་རིངས་ལ་བྲིས་པའོ། །
༄༅། །བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྲས། ཁྲི་ལྡེ་སྲོང་བརྩན། ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་
ཞ་སྟོ་ནས། །ཐུགས་སྐམ། །ཁོ[ང]་ཡ[ངས]པ་དང་། བདུན་[ཟུ]ང་ཐུབ་

ཐུགས་སྟོབས་ཆེའོ། ×××¯ཉི×དེ་ལྷ་བསམ། འ×× ་གི་

ཇྗེ་མཛོད་ན་ཡང༌། །སྲི××ས་པའི་ལས་རྒྱ་སྲུ་བསྲུངས་པས་

ནང་དུ་འཁྲུག་པ་དང༌། སྲི་××བ་སྲིད་ཅིང༌། །བོད་ལྷོངས་ཀྱིས་

སྲི×××ལ་བྱུང་སྟེ། འབངས་གྲོད་དོ། །ནམ་ཞར་དབོན་

སྲས་རྒྱུད་ཆབ་སྲིད་བཙན་དང༌། འབངས་སྐྱིད་པར་བྱའོ

×མས×གཏང༌། །སྲིའི×××××××ནུ×ིུ×××××

×ན་སྲི×པ×ི××××××××[ན]ང་དུ་བཞག×××ན་གྲི×ག×

ཡང་རྒྱ་ཆེར་དགོངས×××ལྷ་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ཞ་སྔ་ནས་མ××

ཕྱོགས་བརྒྱད་དུ་[བཀའ་བཙ]ན་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཆེ་སྟེ×ཕྱོ[གས་བཞིར]

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོར་མ×××བ××། །བར་དུ་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་བྱུང་ནས་

དགྲ་རུ་སྟོར*་ལ×××ང་ཇ(?)×××××××དུ་བཞིས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ད×

དམག་གིས་རྒྱར×ུ×××××××ས་རུ་དྲངས་ནས་ས××

ད་ཚུན་ཅད×××རྒྱས×ི××××××ར་མཛད་ཐོག××

[ག]ཙུག་ལག་[ཁ]ང×××××××ས××ོ་སྟེ། །ཧྲག་དུ××

×ད××××××××××××[ཆེ]ན་པོར་ཆ་གར་འདུག་

××××××དོ་དང་ལ×××ུ××ིུས×ང་ཆད་དམ×

* Ms. H. E. Richardson writes that the reading is doubtful.

×ར×ན×དན×××××××××××××ུ××[ཚབ]སྲིད××

××མར××××××××××××××××××ཁ་ཀྱོང་དུ

××ར××སྲུ××རྗེ×××××དང××××བཙམ་པ

×××××××××××××××ུ×××པོ××བོད་གཉིས་

ཛ×××ར×××××××××ན××××ཡོ×ིཞན××དུ

ཡང་ད××××××××××××××××××སྲི××××ད་པ་

××××××××××××××××××ད×××ཉི་འོག་ཏུ་ཆབ་

×ཙ××××××××××××××××××ཏུ་ཞི་སྦྱོར་ཞིང་

××××ད×××པ××××[བྱང]ཕྱོགས་ན་དྲུ་གུ××ས་

×××གོ[ར་སེ]ར××××[བར]དུ་བག་ཁོང་བྱུང་ནས་ཚབ་སྲིད་

×ས×××××ུགུ་ཧུ་གྱིའི××དང×སོ་ཧུ×ན་ཚུད་ཅད་དུ། བོད

×ད×××ཆེར×××××××××། །མན་ངས་བཙད×ན××ཀྱ་

ང་ཡུལ་ཀྱི×ན×××སྲུང་ཀོང××××ད་ཚུན་ཅད་སྐོ་ཏོར་ཁག་

གྱིས་ཀྱང་ཆབ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྒྲོང་ཏེ། ××ུདུ་གསོལ་ལོ། འདི་དག་

××སྤྱུགས་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ། ××ན×ོ×ང××××××××××[ཉི]་འོག་ཏུ་

×××[ཚ]བ་སྲིད་ཀྱ[ང]×××དེ××××××པ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་

××རབ་ཏུ་རྩལ×ུ×ུ×××ང་

III
Inscription of bSam yas (p. 43)

༄༅། །ར་ས་དང་། བྲག་མར་གྱི
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྩོགས་
པར་། དཀོན་མཆོག་། གསུམ་
གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། སངས་
རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་། མཛད་པ་འདི་།
ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་གཏང་མའ་ཞིག་
པར་བགྱིའོ་། ཡོ་བྱད་སྦྱརད་།
པའ་ཡང་། དེ་ལས་མི་དབྲི་མི་
བསྐྱུང་བར་བགྱིའོ་། ད་ཕྱིན་
ཆད་། གདུང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཞིང་ཡང་
བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་འདི་
བཞིན་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ། དེ་ལས་
མཐའ་ཁ་དབྱད་པ་དག་ཀྱང་།
མི་བགྱི་མི་བསྐྱུར་བར། འཇིག་
རྟེན་ལས། འདའས་པའ་དང་།

འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལྷ་དང། སྲི་མ་ཡིན་
པའ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་དཔང་དུ།
གསོལ་ཏེ། བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཧ་
རྗེ་བློན་གུན་གྱིས་དབུ་བསྙུང་དང་བྲོ།
བོར་རོ། །གཙིགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིབ་
མོ་གཅིག་ནི་གུད་ན་མཆིས་སོ། །

IV

First edict of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan (p. 44)

btsan po k'ri sroṅ lde btsan gyi sku riṅ la | šog bu t'iṅ ga la gser gyis bris nas | gser gyi sgrom bur bstsal pai bka' gtsigs kyi yi ge bsam yas lhun gyis grub pai gtsug lag k'aṅ gi dkor mdsod tu bžag pa las dpe' bgyis te bris pa | dkond cog gsum nam du yaṅ mi btaṅ ma žig par dgyi pai gtsigs sgrom bu naṅ na mc'is pai dpe' | de bžin gšegs pai bka' las byuṅ ba don t'og tu sbyar na | yaṅ dag pa ñid k'oṅ du ma c'ud pas k'ams sum yaṅ sdug sṅal gyi gnas su gyur | t'ams cad kyaṅ gna' nas ma skyes pa med | skyes nas ni don daṅ don med par spyod | de nas kyaṅ ši par ạgyur | ši nas kyaṅ gnas bzaṅ ṅan du p'yir skye | de la legs su soṅ pa ni saṅs rgyas | mṅon par dmigs pa ni c'os kyi yi ge | dge bar mts'on pa ni dge ạdun rnams te | gtan gyi skyabs daṅ gliṅ du bzaṅ ṅo | dkond cog gsum ni byin du c'ed c'e

ste | yab mes sṅa ma kun gyi riṅ la yaṅ gduṅ rabs re re źiṅ lugs su mdsad ste | gtsug lag k'aṅ gsar sñiṅ dṅos yod pa yin | btsan po yab gduṅ du gšegs pai p'yi nas | pan pun k'yer pai dpe' ts'ul yod pa nas | gtsug lag k'aṅ lhun gyis ạgrub pa | lug gi lo la dp'yid zla' bai ts'es bcu bdun la rten btsugs pai ts'e | da nas p'an c'ad | bod yul du dkon mc'og gsum rten gtsugs te | saṅs rgyas k'yi c'os mdsad pa mi gžig par (109 *a*) btsan po yab sras daṅ sras kyi yum gyis dbu sñun bzuṅ žiṅ yi dam bcas pa daṅ | p'yi naṅ gyi blon po c'e pr'a mt'a' dag bro stsal pai gtsigs kyi yi ger bris pao || ra sai ạp'rul snaṅ gtsug lag k'aṅ daṅ | rgya btags ra mo c'ei gtsug lag k'aṅ daṅ | brag dmar gyi sam yas lhun yis ạgrub kyi gtsug lag daṅ | k'ams gsum mi ldog sgrol yi gtsug lag k'aṅ la stsogs te | bod kyi rigs su bla nas | dkond cog gsum gyi rten btsug te | bod las k'yaṅ t'ar par gzud ciṅ | saṅs rgyas kyi c'os mdsad pa ạdi nam du yaṅ mi gtaṅ ma žig par dgyio | bod las kyaṅ t'ard par gzud to | gtsug lag k'aṅ de rnams su dkond mc'og gsum gyi yo byad sbyor bai rkyend kyaṅ ran pa 'os par dpags te bla nas p'ul ba las | nam žar kyaṅ mi dbri mi bskyuṅ par bkyis so | da p'yin c'ad gduṅ rabs re re yaṅ | btsan po yab sras ạdi bžin du yi dam bca' žiṅ žal gyis bžes par bgyio | blon po t'og t'og kyaṅ bro stsal bar bgyio || ạdi ltar yi dam bcas pa | p'yogs bcui saṅs rgyas t'ams cad daṅ | dam pai c'os t'ams cad daṅ | byaṅ c'ub sems dpai dge ạdun t'ams cad daṅ | raṅ saṅs rgyas daṅ ñan t'os t'ams cad daṅ gnam sai rim pa lhao cog daṅ | bod yul yi sku lha daṅ | lha dgu t'ams cad daṅ | klu daṅ gnod sbyin daṅ mi ma yin pa t'ams cad dpaṅ du gsol ste | gtsigs ạdi las mi ạgyur bar mk'yen par bgyis so | de la gtsigs ltar ma bgyis te | dkond cog gsum gyi sku bslus sam mna' k'a dbud na | sems can dmyal bar skyes šig | ạdi bžin du mdsad ciṅ bgyis na | t'ams cad kyaṅ bla na med pa yaṅ dag par stsogs pai byaṅ c'ub du mṅon par saṅs (109 *b*) rgyas par šog cig | saṅs

rgyas kyi c'os bod yul du | sña p'yir ji ltar byuṅ bai bka' mc'id kyi yi ge gcig kyaṅ zla la bžag go || dpe ạdi ạdra pa bcu gsum bris te | gcig ni p'yag sbal na bžag go | gñis ni p'yag rgyas btab ste | ra sai ạp'rul snaṅ gtsug lag k'aṅ daṅ brag dmar gyi bsam yas lhun gyis grub kyi dge ạdun la re re bžags go | bcu ni mṭ'ar p'yag rgyas btab ste | ra sai ạp'rul snaṅ gtsug lag k'aṅ daṅ | bsam yas lhun gyis ạgrub kyi gtsug lag k'aṅ daṅ k'ra ạbrug gi bkra šis lha yul gtsug lag k'aṅ | daṅ p'o braṅ ạk'or gyi dge ạdun daṅ | ra sai rgya btags ra mo c'e daṅ | brag dmar gyi k'ams sum mi ldog sgrol daṅ | bru ža yul daṅ | žaṅ žuṅ yul daṅ | mdo smad daṅ | sde blon ris daṅ | ạdi rnams kyi gtsug lag k'aṅ gyi dge ạdun la dpe re re ạc'aṅ du stsald to || bro stsal pa la | dbon 'a ža rje | žaṅ blon c'en bk'a la gtogs pa la | blon c'en po žaṅ rgyal gzigs šu t'eṅ | blon stag sgra klu goṅ | žaṅ rgyal ts'an lha snaṅ | blon rgyal sgra legs gzigs | blon btsan bžer mḍo lod | žaṅ rgyal ñen zla goṅ | blon k'ri gaṅs rgya goṅ | gcen mts'o btsan | žaṅ rg̣yal ts'an le goṅ || naṅ blon la | blon gra ạji žaṅ rams šags | žaṅ a srin | žan sña k'ri gñen | blon klu goṅ | 'oṅ ka lha mts'o | blon šaṅ btsan | blon srin skyugs | blon ạdus ston | žaṅ stag c'ab | žaṅ legs ạdus || p'yi blon la | žaṅ bal bu staṅ | žaṅ lha gzigs | blon la kun rtse | blon sbra bžin | blon stoṅ t'ub | blon zla goṅ | blon gcug k'yuṅ myin | blon lhos po | žaṅ rgyal snaṅ | blon byin byin | blon loṅ po | blon rtsaṅ lod | blon gñan koṅ | (110 *a*) ..... kyi dbaṅ po daṅ dmag dpon la | blon skyas bzaṅ stag snaṅ | blon snaṅ koṅ | blon k'yi c'uṅ | blon klu bžer | žaṅ mar bu | blon lha mṭs'o | blon pa ra mi | blon šaṅ rdsoṅ | blon mig k'yuṅ c'uṅ | blon taṅ bu | k'u rgya btsan | k'u ba yu brtsan | blon mdo gzigs | blon k'oṅ k'ri | blon k'oṅ legs | blon rmaṅ k'a bskyes | blon mdo bzaṅ | blon k'ri goṅ | c'os bod yul du sña p'yir ji ltar byuṅ bai bka' mc'id kyi yi ge gcig kyaṅ zla bžag po | braṅ ti šri la va rmas bris |

V

Second edict of K'ri sroṅ lde btsan (p. 47)

btsan po k'ri sroṅ lde btsan gyi sku riṅ la | c'os ạbyuṅ bai lo druṅ gyi yi ge zla la bžag pa | p'ra myen gyis bris te gser gyi sgrom bur stsal nas | dpal bsam yas kyi dkor mdsod du bžag pa las dpe' bgyis nas bris pa || gna' ra ạc'ad bod yul du dkond cog gsum gyi rten bcas te | saṅs rgyas kyi c'os mdsad pai lo druṅ gyi yi ger bris pa | sgrom bui naṅ na mc'is pai dpe' | bzaṅ po bži mes k'ri sroṅ btsan gyi riṅ la | ra sai pe kar bstsigs te saṅs rgyas kyi c'os t'og ma mdsad ts'un c'ad | brtsan po yab k'ri lde gtsug brtsan gyi riṅ la | brag dmar gyi kva c'ur gtsug lag k'aṅ brtsigs te saṅs rgyas kyi c'os mdsad p'and c'ad gduṅ rabs lṅa lon no | btsan po yab dguṅ du gšegs kyi 'og du žaṅ bloṅ k'a cig gyis hur ạdums kyi blo žig byuṅ ste | yab mes kyi riṅ ts'und c'ad | saṅs rgyas gyi c'os mdsad mdsad pa yaṅ gšig go | de nas yaṅ slad (?) ni lho bal yi lha daṅ c'os bod yul du bgyi pai myi rigs šes | gžan yaṅ p'yi naṅ c'os bgyis su mi gnaṅ bar bka' k'rims bris so | de nas btsan po ža sṅa nas lo ñi šu bžes pa na | t'og ma ni p'yag sbrid daṅ ltas šig ṅan te | c'o ga ci mdsad pas bšaṅ kyaṅ dguṅ zla du mar p'yag sbrid (110 *b*) daṅ ltas ṅan nas | saṅs rgyas kyi c'os bgyis su mi gnaṅ bai bka' k'rims kyaṅ k'rims su mi bgyis ba ạdor | dkond cog gsum kyi mc'od pa yaṅ bgyi žes bgyis na gzod bzaṅ po ạgyurd to | de nas dge bai bšes gñen gyis bstaṅs te c'os kyaṅ gsan | yi ge yaṅ spyan sṅar brims nas | saṅs rgyas kyi c'os ạp'el žiṅ mdsad par sgroms so | de na bod kyi c'os rñiṅ pa ma legs pa | sku lha gsol ba daṅ c'o ga myi mt'un pas | kun kyaṅ ma legs su dogs te | la la ni sku la dmar yaṅ dogs | la la ni c'ab srid god gyis kyaṅ dogs | la la ni mi nad

p'yugs nad byuṅ gyis kyaṅ dogs | la la ni mu ge laṅs babs kyis kyaṅ dogs so || c'os ñid kyi naṅ du brtags na | c'os las ạbyuṅ ba ni ạjig rten gyi k'ams su myed pa na | sems can kyi k'ams graṅs med pa | skye ba rnam bži naṅ du skye žiṅ ạk'or ba la gtogs so cog | daṅ poi t'og ma med pa nas | t'a mai mt'a' myed pai bar du | raṅ gyi las kyis de bžin du srid pa las | lus daṅ ṅag daṅ yid gsum nas legs par spyad to cog ni dge bar ạgyur | ñes pa spyad to cog ni sdig par ạgyur | legs ñes med pa ni luṅ du myi ston par ạgyur | gžan [yaṅ?] raṅ byas pai ạbras bu ni bdag la smind te | gnam gyi rim pai lha bskyes pa daṅ | sai steṅ gyi myi daṅ | lha ma yin daṅ | yi dags daṅ byol soṅ daṅ | sai 'og gi sems can dmyal ba daṅ ạdi drug tu skyes pa cog kyaṅ raṅ gyi las kyis ạgyur ro | ạjig rten las ạdas te saṅs rgyas bcom ldan ạdas su ạgyur pa daṅ | byaṅ c'ub sems dpa' daṅ raṅ byaṅ c'ub daṅ | ñan t'os kyis rim par ạgrub pa kund (?) kyaṅ bsod nams daṅ ye šes kyi ts'ogs raṅ gis brtsogs pa las ạgyur ro žes ạbyuṅ ṅo | dge ba gaṅ že na dge ba bcu la bstsogs pao | myi dge ba gaṅ že na | mi dge bcu la (111 *a*) stsogs pao | luṅ du mi ston pa gaṅ že na | spyod lam bži la btsogs pao | ạjig rten las ạdas pai bsod nams daṅ ye šes kyi ts'ogs gaṅ že na | dge ba bcui steṅ du bden pa bži daṅ | rkyen daṅ ạdu ba ts'ogs ste byuṅ bai yaṅ lag bcu gñis daṅ byaṅ c'ub kyi p'yogs kyi c'os sum bcu rtsa bdun daṅ p'a rold tu p'yind pa bcu la btsogs pao | dei ạbras bu ni mi ạjigs pa bži daṅ so so yaṅ dag par šes pa bži daṅ | stobs bcu daṅ ma ạdres pai c'os bco brgyad daṅ t'ugs rje c'en po sum bcu rtsa gñis pa la stsogs par ạgyur te | gtan ts'igs žib tu ni c'os kyi yi gei naṅ na mc'is so || c'os kyi naṅ nas byuṅ pa ạdi rnams rjes bcad na | k'a cig ni legs nods kyis dmyigs ạp'ral du mṅon pa yaṅ mc'is | k'a cig ạp'ral du mi mṅon pa yaṅ mṅon par gda' pa rnams kyi ts'ul las ..... na | ṅes par gzuṅ du ruṅ ba yaṅ mc'is te | mdo de rnams daṅ sbyar na | c'os ạdi gtaṅ

ṅam mdsad dam ci rigs šes | ạbaṅs su mṅa' ba rgyal p'ran 'a ža rje la bstsogs pa daṅ | p'yi naṅ gyi blon po rnams la bka's smras | bka' gros su mdsad nas | bcig tu na saṅs rgyas bcom ldan ạdas kyi bka' luṅ la bstan | gñis su ni yab mes kyi dpe lugs la ạc'el | gsum du na gde bai bšes gñen gyi mt'us bstaṅs pa daṅ yaṅ sbyar nas mṅor brtags na | myi dge ma legs par dogs pai rnams kyaṅ de ltar myi ạgyur gyi steṅ du | c'ed c'e bar bka' gros mdsad te | de la ma legs pa ni ji ltar mi ạgyur c'ed ni ji ltar c'e že na | c'os kyi mdo ni legs su bgyi bas | bla na med pai don sgrub pa legs te | legs pai mt'a' ..... cig | ..... dpag tsam gyis dgos pa gži (?) yaṅ mi ruṅ gis gñis | yab mes gduṅ rabs du mai bar du mdsad kyaṅ | ma legs pa ma byuṅ ba daṅ (111 *b*) gsum gyis da yaṅ nods par myi ạgyur la c'er c'eo žes | ..... bka' gros ..... te mtsad to | de lta bas na saṅs rgyas kyi c'os mdsad pa yaṅ | gcig tu na yoṅ gyis bzaṅ la gces | gñis su na sṅon bšig pai dpe bzuṅ pas t'ugs yid dogs te | gsum du mi gžig par dbu sñuṅ bro mna' bor ba yaṅ yi ger bris so | p'yind c'ad kyaṅ ..... | yi dam mdsad pa daṅ blon po man c'ad kyaṅ bro stsal bor bgyis so.

VI

Edict of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan at the time of the foundation of Karchung chapel (p. 51)

sras k'ri lde sroṅ btsan gyi sku riṅ la šog bu t'iṅ ga la gser gyis bris te ạp'ra myen gyi sgrom bur bstsal nas | bsam yas lhun gyis ạgrub kyi gtsug lag k'aṅ du yab kyi zla la bžag pa las dpe bgyis te bris pa | dam pai c'os nam du yaṅ mi gžig par | btsan po k'ri lde sroṅ btsan gyis t'ugs dam bšes te | dbu sñuṅ

bor nas | gtsigs kyi yi ger bris pa || gtsigs ji ltar gnaṅ pai gtan ts'igs mgo nan la bris pa | bla na med pai saṅs rgyas kyi c'os ạdi | bzaṅ žiṅ c'ed c'e te | mi mdsad tu mi ruṅ bar ni ṅan rtags gtan ts'igs | yab k'ri sroṅ sde btsan gyi sku riṅ la | c'os nam du yaṅ myi gžig par gtsigs mdsad pai klad nan daṅ | c'os ji ltar brñes pai gtam gyi yi ge las smos ciṅ | c'os kyi yi ge ñid žib tu ạbyuṅ ba yin no | ạdi ltar saṅs rgyas kyi c'os ạdi bzaṅ žiṅ c'ed c'e ste | myi mdsad tu myi ruṅ bar | daṅ po mes sroṅ btsan gyis mk'yen nas | lha sai dpe har brtsigs pa ts'un c'ad | yab k'ri sroṅ lde btsan gyis | c'os rgya c'er t'ugs su c'ud nas | bsam yas lhun yis grub pa la stsogs te | bod k'ams su gtsug lag k'aṅ maṅ po brtsigs pa daṅ | btsan p'o k'ri lde sroṅ btsan ṅai ža sṅa nas | c'os t'ugs su c'ud ste mdsad pa p'an cad | gduṅ rabs bdun gyi bar du mdsad kyis kyaṅ | myi dge ba daṅ ma legs pa med pa las | c'os k'oṅ du ma c'ud pa k'a cig gis mes k'ri lde gtsug btsan gyi riṅ la brag dmar yi kva c'ur gtsug lag k'aṅ brtsigs nas | c'os mdsad pa las | yab k'ri sroṅ lde btsan sku c'uṅ bai ts'e bšig ste | p'yin c'ad c'os byed du myi gnaṅ bar | bka' k'rims su yaṅ bris pa las | yab k'ri sroṅ de btsan gyi (129 *a*) sku la dṅo' bar gyur nas | slar saṅs rgyas kyi c'os mdsad pas smon par gyurd ste | c'os kyaṅ rgya c'er mdsad ste | nam du yaṅ c'os myi gžig par | gtsigs kyaṅ dam du bris pa las p'yis yab dguṅ du gšegs pa rjes la | ṅed rje blon gyi sñan du mo daṅ rmyis ltas las dkris lte | c'os mdsad pa ạdi | btsan p'oi sku daṅ c'ab srid la yaṅ dṅo' ste ma legs kyis | btsan p'oi | p'o braṅ na dkond cog gsum gyi rten btsugs pa yaṅ gud du spags te | bskar žiṅ c'os mdsad pai myi rigs ces gsold pa dag kyaṅ byuṅ nas | mo daṅ rmyi ltas lta bu brdsun pai ts'ig gis | dkond cog gsum gyi rten daṅ c'os lta bu don c'en po spaṅs par gyurd na | mt'a' yun du yaṅ myi dge žiṅ ma legs | rje blon sṅa rabs kyis dam gtsigs bžes pai dbu sñuṅ daṅ yaṅ ạgal nas | sṅa rabs kyi riṅ la gduṅ rabs re re žiṅ c'os

myi gžig par t'ugs dam bžes so žes ạbyuṅ ba daṅ sbyard ste | yab kyi riṅ la dbu sñuṅ btsigs mdsad pa rnams daṅ | ṅai t'ugs la dgoṅs te | gtsigs gsar du bsnan nas | yi ge ạdi las byuṅ bai rnams | nam žar ạdi bžin du myi mdsad re žes | ṅai ža sṅa nas dbu' sñuṅ por ste | t'ugs dam bžes | p'yi naṅ gyi blon po c'e p'ras kyaṅ mna' bor ste | gtsigs kyi yi ger bris pao || t'ugs dam dbu' sñuṅ bžes te gtsigs su mdsad pas | c'os mdsad pa ạdi ces spras ci la yaṅ sdig go že nam | ma legs so žes mo daṅ rmyi ltas las sogs te cii piyir yaṅ ruṅ ste | dkond cog gsum gžig re spaṅ re | de skad ces c'e c'uṅ su gsold kyis kyaṅ de ltar mdsad re | btsan p'o | dbon sras sku c'uṅ ṅur bžugs pa yan c'ad | c'ab srid kyi (129 *b*) mṅa' bdag mdsad pa man c'ad kyaṅ dge sloṅ las dge bai bšes gñen bskos te | c'os t'ugs su ci c'ud c'ud bslab ciṅ | bod yoṅs kyis kyaṅ c'os slob ciṅ spyad pai sgo [mi] bcad ste | nam du yaṅ bod ya rabs mand cad bod ạbaṅs las t'ard par gzud pai sgo mi bgag par | dad pai rnams las t'ar par btsud ste | dei naṅ nas nus pa las | bcom ldan ạdas kyi riṅ lugs rtag tu bsko žiṇ | bcom ldan ạdas kyi riṅ lugs byed pai rnams | c'os ạk'or nas byao cog gi bka' la yaṅ gtogs te | c'os ạk'or gyi las daṅ dbaṅ byed ciṅ | dge bai bšes gñen byed par myi bsko re | rab tu byuṅ bai rnams gžan gyi bran du myi sbyin | nan gyis mi dbab | k'yim pai k'rin la gtags te gyoṅ la mi gdags ciṅ | ṅed yab sras kyis mc'od gnas su gnaṅ pa bžin du byas te | btsan p'oi | p'o braṅ na dkond c'og gsum gyi rten btsugs ciṅ | mc'od pa yaṅ gud du spaṅ žiṅ bskar te mc'od gnas su myi bya re | mdor na | btsan p'oi | p'o braṅ daṅ bod k'ams na | dkond cog gsum myed pa daṅ spaṅ bai t'abs ci yaṅ bya re | yab mes dbon sras gaṅ gi riṅ la yaṅ ruṅ ste | dkond cog gsum gyi rkyend bcad pai rnams kyaṅ mi ṅams ma žig pai c'os su mi bya re | ạdi lta rje blon man c'ad kun gyis mna' bor ba las | btsan p'oi | gduṅ rgyud las dbu' sñuṅ bžes dgos pa'm | p'yis jo mo'm |

c'ab srid kyi blon po la stsogs gsar du bskos šiṅ c'uṅ ba žig yod la | mna's bsgag pai rigs pa las | mna' ma bor ba žig yod na | de bžin bdu mna' myi..... re || jo mo mc'ed bro stsald pa | jo mo ạbro bza' k'ri mo legs | (130 *a*) jo mo mc'ims rgyal bza' legs mo brtsan | jo mo cog ro bza' brtsan rgyal || rgyal p'ran bro stsald pa | dbon 'a ža rje dud kyi bul ži k'ud bor ma ga t'o yo gon k'a gaṅ | rkoṅ kar po maṅ po rje | myaṅ btsun k'ri bo | c'ab srid kyi blon po man c'ad blon po c'e p'ra bro stsald pa la | ban de bka' c'en po la gtogs pa | ban de bran ka yon tan | ban de myan tiṅ ạdsin || c'ab srid kyi blon po bka' c'en po la gtogs pa | blon c'en po žaṅ ạbro k'ri gzu ram šags | žaṅ mc'ims rgyal btsan bžer legs gzigs | dba' blon maṅ rje lha lod | dba's blon k'ri sum bžer mdo btsan | žaṅ mc'ims rgyal lha bžer ne šags | rlaṅ blon k'ri sum rje speg lha || naṅ blon la | žaṅ sna nam k'ri sgra rgyal | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ mdo bžer p'es po | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ lha btsan klu dpal | žaṅ sna nam rgyal legs dge ts'ug | žaṅ sna nam lha bžer spe btsan | bran ka blon rgyal bzaṅ ạdus koṅ | myaṅ blon k'ri bzaṅ legs ạdus | leu blon lha bzaṅ byin byin | toṅ blon stag slebs | žaṅ mc'ims rgyal mdo gzigs | rlaṅ blon bsam skyes | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ lha luṅ sto | žaṅ sna nam gñan lod | 'oṅ ka lha sbyin | ạbriṅ yas blon stag rma | rtsaṅ rje blon k'yeu c'uṅ | ạbal blon ạbro ma | sña šur blon da gtsug sñas || snam p'yi pa la | k'ar pa rje blon btsan slebs | k'u stag c'ab | ža sṅa gtsan stag lod | k'yuṅ po blon rgyal ạbyuṅ | šud pu blon k'oṅ k'ri | leu blon klu gžer | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ klu mts'o sto | pa tsab blon ạts'o gzigs | myaṅ blon legs btsan | rlaṅ blon gsas slebs | dba' blon lha blo btsan | bran ka blon bsam pa | ñi ba blon ldon koṅ | šud pu blon stag slebs | ža sṅa gsas btsan (130 *b*)..... dbaṅ po daṅ dmag dpon daṅ p'yis blon bka' la gtogs pa la | lha blon k'ri bzaṅ gyu btsan | dbas blon k'rom bžer | žaṅ mc'ims rgyal stoṅ sña smon btsan | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ k'ri..... spu ra

cuṅ | zaṅ mc'ims rgyal stag bžer rgyal slebs | žaṅ sna nam btsan sgra k'ri slebs | ạbrom blon rgyal bžer k'ar tsi | lha luṅ blon maṅ po rje skar koṅ | zaṅ ạbro stag bžer pra ba la staṅ | dba's rgyal ta ra stag sña | cog ro blon lho goṅ | laṅ gro blon k'rom legs | dba' blon mdo btsan | leu blon ku rma | žaṅ ạbro stag staṅ | maṅ sgra blon klu rma | žaṅ mc'ims rma btsan | rtsa ạbrom blon sga ạgu | k'yuṅ po blon mes kol | pa tsab blon spe ma | ạbrom se ri staṅ | dba's blon ạp'an legs | dbas blon k'rom legs | ska ba blon mts'o lod | cog ro blon guṅ koṅ | dbas blon mye slebs | k'u mye gzigs | ža sṅa mu gñen | žan ạbro guṅ staṅ | žaṅ mc'ims rgyal ma rmyin brtse | žaṅ ts'e spoṅ rma btsan | cog ro brtan koṅ | gnaṅ yul bzuṅ | cog ro k'yi btsan | sbraṅ mo rma | ạbro ldog sroṅ ston | ạbrom yaṅ gzigs.

VII

The Karchung inscription (p. 51)

༄༅། །འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་

ལ། །དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཡུན་དུ་བརྟན་པར་གཙིགས་

བརྟན་པ། །

༄༅། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ། སྲས། ཁྲི་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་

རིང་ལ། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་དེ། །ར་སའི་གཙུག་

ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྩོགས་པ་བརྩིགས་ཤིང་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་

གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །སྲས་ཁྲི་འདུས་སྲོང་གི་

རིང་ལ་། །གླིང་གི་ཁྲི་རྩེ་ལས་སྩོགས་པར་། གཙུག་ལག་
ཁང་བརྩིགས་སྟེ་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་
པ་དང་། །མྱེས་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་བརྟན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་། །བྲག་མར་གྱི་
ཀྭ་ཚུ་དང་། མཆིང་ཕུར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྩིགས་སྟེ་དཀོན་
མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །ཡབ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་
བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་། །བྲག་མར་གྱི་བསམ་ཡས་ལས་སྩོགས་
པ་། །དབུད་མཐར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྩིགས་སྟེ་དཀོན་
མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་
ལྡེ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་། །སྐར་ཅུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
ལས་སྩོགས་པ་བརྩིགས་སྟེ་། [1] །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་
བཙུགས་པ་ལས་སྩོགས་པ་། །གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་གྱིས་། །
འདི་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་འདི། །ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མ་
ཞིག་། །མ་བཏང་ན་། །ལེགས་པ་དཔག་དུ་མྱེད་པར་འགྱུར་་། །
བཏང་སྟེ་། ཞིག་གམ་། མྱེད་པར་གྱུར་ན་། །སྡིག་པ་གྲངས་མྱེད་
པར་འོང་བས། །ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ནམ་ནམ་ཞ་ཞར་། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་
བཙན་པོ་། །ཡབ། ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་
གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་

1) See translation of this passage at p. 14.

སྤྱི་གཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར་། །གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ་[1]
ཞེས་འབྱུང་བ་ལས་སྩོགས་པ་། །བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་། །རྗེ་
བློན་ཀུན་། ཀྱིས་དབུ་སྙུང་དང་བྲོ་བོར་ཏེ་། །གཙིགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་དང་
རྡོ་རིངས་ལ་བྲིས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡང་མཛད་དོ། །འདི་ལྟར་ཡབ
མྱེས་། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་
བརྩུགས་[2] ཤིང་། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་འདི་། [3] །གཅེས་སྤྲས་ཙི་
ལ་ཡང་། སྡིག་གོ་ཞེའམ་། མ་ལེགས་སོ་ཞེས་། མོ་དང་རྨི་ལྟས་ལས་
སྩོགས་སྟེ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་རྫང་སྟེ་། སྤྱི་གཞིག་གོ་། སྤྱི་སྤང་ངོ་། །དེ་སྐད་
ཅེས་། ཆེ་ཆུང་སུས་གསོལད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། དེ་ལྟར་མྱི་མཛད་དོ། །བཙན་
པོ་དབོན་སྲས་། །སྐུ་ཆུ་ངུར་བཞུགས་པ་ཡན་ཅད་། །ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་
མངའ་བདག་མཛད་པ་མན་ཆད་ཀྱང་། །དགེ་སློང་ལས་། དགེ་བའི་
བཤེས་ཉེན་བསྐོས་སྟེ་། ཆོས་ཐུགས་སུ་ཆུད་ཆུད་དུ་བསླབ་ཅིང་། བོད་
ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་སློབ་ཅིང་སྤྱད་པའི་སྒོ་མྱི་གཅད། ནམ་དུ་ཡང་བོད་ཡ་
རབས་མན་ཅད་། །བོད་འབངས་ལས་ཐར་པར་གཟུད་པའི་སྒོ་མྱི་བགག་
པར་། དད་པའི་རྣམས་ལས་ཐར་པར་བཙུད་དེ་། །དེའི་ནང་ནས་
ནུས་པ་ལས་། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལུགས་རྟག་ཏུ་བསྐོ་

1) Cfr. the inscription of bSam yas.
2) Richardson *btsugs*.
3) From here downwards cfr. translation p. 52 ff.

ཞིང་། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལུགས་བྱེད་པའི་རྣམས་ཆོས་འཁོར་
ནས་བྱོའི་ཅོག་གི་བཀའ་ལ་ཡང་བཏགས་སྟེ། །ཆོས་འཁོར་གྱི་ལས་དང་
དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་ཉེན་བྱེད་པར་བསྐོའོ། །རབ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་
རྣམས། །ངེད་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་མཆོད་གནས་སུ་གནང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་བྱས་
སྟེ། །བཙན་པོའི་།ཕོ་བྲང་ན་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་ཤིང་
མཆོད་པ་ཡང་། །གུ་དུ་སྒྲི་སྲུང་སྒྲི་བསྐར་ཞིང་མཆོད་གནས་སུ་བགྱིའོ།
མདོར་ན། །བཙན་པོའི་།ཕོ་བྲང་དང་།བོད་ཁམས་ན་།དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ
སྒྲིད་
པ་དང་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཐབས་ཅི་ཡང་སྒྲི་མཛད་དོ།ཡབ་སྲིས་དབོན་སྲས་
གང་གི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་རྟུང་སྟེ།དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྐྱེན་བཅད་པའི་རྣམས་
ཀྱང་མ་དམའས་མ་ཞིག་པའི་ཆོས་སུ་ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཡིག་གི་མགོ་ནན་ལས་
འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆིས་མཛད་དོ། །ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་གདུང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཞིང་
ཡང་
བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱིས། འདི་བཞིན་དུ་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ། །དེ་ལས་
མནའ་ཁ་
དབྱུད་པ་དག་སྒྲི་བགྱི་སྒྲི་བསྒྱུར་བར། [1] །འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པ་དང་
འཇིག་

1) Invocation of gods to protect the oath as in bSam yas.

རྟེན་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དང་སྲི་མ་ཡོན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། དཔང་དུ་གསོལ་ཏེ། །
བཙན་པོ།
རྗེ་བློན་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དབུ་སྙུང་དང་བྲོ་བོར་རོ། །གཙིགས་བརྟན་པའི་
ཡི་གེ་ཞིབ་མོ་ནི། །ཡབ་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་གཙིགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པའི་ཟླ་ལ་
བཞག་གོ། [1] །

VIII

Inscription on the bell of bSam yas (p. 69)

༄༅། །ཇོ་མོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཙན་ཡུམ། སྲས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བཅུའི་དཀོན་
མཆོག་གསུམ་ག་ལ། མཆོད་པའི་སླད་དུ་ཅོང་འདི་བགྱིས་ཏེ་དེའི་བསོད།
ནམས་ཀྱི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན། ཡབ་སྲས་སྤུངས་དབྱལ་
གསུང་དབྱངས་དྲུག། བཅུའི་སྒྲ་དབྱངས་དང་ལྡན་ཏེ། །བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་བྱང་
ཆུབ་སྒྲུབ་པར་སྨོན་ཏོ། །

1) Viz. " it was placed together with the letter of the edict made at the lime of my father ".

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

p. 11 l. 14 instead of "see pp 16,17,,, read "see p. 12,13,,.

p. 37 l. 2 ff. I think that the three *ni* of the text have not been emphasized in my transiation: they are meant to insist on the three points; *c'os lugs bzaṅ po. Mna' t'aṅ c'en po, c'ab srid* to which *dbu rmog* is added. Therefore I should so improve my translation: "As regards the good religious manners they began..... as to the Government this afterwards.....; as to his helmet this....., In l. 7-8 *lugs* and *c'os* are differentiated, *lugs* being connected with *Lba* and *c'os* with *gnam*, *mṅa' t'aṅ* is put in relation with *lhai lugs;* but *c'os* relates to the *bka'* and *t'ugs* of the king. Does this mean that *lugs* is the Buddhist Law as opposed to *gnam c'os?* Nothing seems tho support this view. In the other edicts Buddhism is referred to as *Saṅs rgyas c'os*. On *Lba c'os* as identical with Bon po see T.P.S. p. 720.